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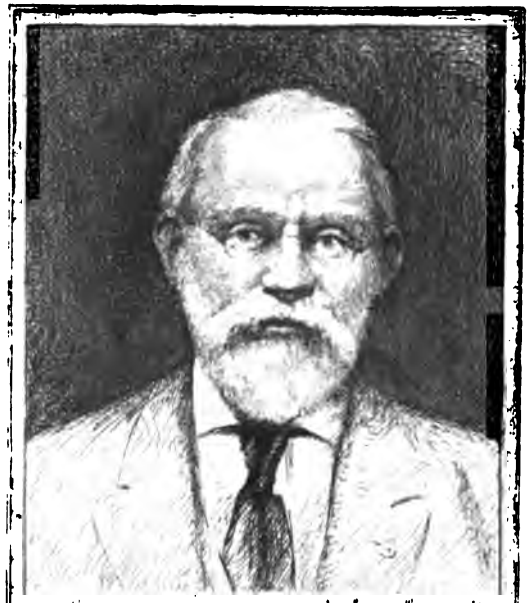

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OF QUEBEC

SESSIONS OF 1903 TO 1905

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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
13th JANUARY, 1904

QUEBEC, 13th January, 1904.

The annual general meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was held on Wednesday morning, 13th January, in the Library of the Society, at 10 o'clock. There was a good attendance of members. Sir James LeMoine, President, in the chair. After reading the minutes of the last meeting, the Recording Secretary, A. Robertson, Esq., submitted the annual report of the Society for the past year.

ANNUAL REPORT

QUEBEC, January 13th, 1904.

A special meeting having been called recently to confer with our worthy Hon. President, James Douglas, L.L.D. of New York, Dr. Douglas took occasion to urge the Society to continue the publication of valuable manuscripts, such as was the practice when he presided over the Society. He then suggested that an appeal be made to Col. H. Neilson, grandson of the late Hon. John Neilson, as custodian and proprietor of the Neilson papers. The President having called on the Colonel, has been entrusted, for examination, with a bound volume of the Papineau and Neilson correspondence, covering several years anterior to the breaking out of the insurrection in 1837-38. These letters the President suggests might be submitted for the consideration of a General Committee.

The Committee charged with the preparation of Bronze Tablets with suitable inscriptions to indicate the spots rendered memorable by feats of arms and historical events, such as Sault-au-Matelot street, where Col. Benedict Arnold was routed in 1775 and Près-de-Ville, where his chief, Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery met death and defeat, on the same day, has made a preliminary report and will actively prosecute its labours next spring.

The Council deems it proper to refer to the negociations which it is to be hoped will be closed shortly between the Society and its Honorary President, Dr. Douglas, and the Morrin College authorities, calculated to restore the Society to its former prestige, when Government provided an annual subsidy for the publication of valuable manuscripts. The relations between the Society and Morrin College continue to be on the most friendly footing.

The winter course of lectures will be opened without delay. The Rev. Fred. G. Scott, L.L.D., is to lecture on Milton, and Mr. Routh, of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, on "Student life in Paris." Dr. R. Bell, chief of the Geological Survey, has also been asked to lecture on "The state and development of our Great North Western Domain." The Council is in the receipt of a letter announcilng his acceptance. Dr. James Douglas has also been invited to lecture.

In closing, the Society has doubtless noticed with satisfaction the awakening amongst many of her most zealous members in the pursuit of historical information generally, and especially in the compilation of historical material towards the annals of our city.

Respectfully submitted,

J. M. LeMOINE,
President.

13 January, 1904.

It was then moved by Mr. P. Johnston, seconded by Mr. S. Lesage, and

Resolved, That the report just read be received, adopted and published.

The report of the Librarian was next read, as follows:

"In submitting his Report the Librarian regrets that financial exigencies prevented the members from being furnished—outside of the magazines—with any new books, but brighter times are in prospect in the near future owing to the generosity of our honorary President and benefactor, Dr. James Douglas, who has promised a handsome annuity to the Society for the purchase of the latest publications of the best current literature of all subjects, as soon as issued, so that a certain number of new books will be placed each month on the Library shelves. The Morrin College authorities, who have always been liberal to the old Society will supplement Dr. Douglas, and also place the adjoining room at our disposal which will be fitted up as a comfortable reading annex whose shelving will give more book room.

Fifty-seven volumes have been received by donation, including eighteen volumes, the works of Louisa Muhlbach, from J. T. Ross, Esq., and others from Messrs. P. B. Casgrain, Benjamin Sulte, George McAleer, Chev. Charles Baillairgé, George Roy, Rev. Dr. Marvin, and others, besides 56 bound and 237 unbound volumes from our numerous exchanges.

Fourteen hundred and twenty-two volumes have been loaned to members during the past year composed of

Fiction....	587	volumes
Biography....	69	"
History....	170	"
Magazines and Reviews	271	"
Travels and Miscellaneous	325	"
	1422	"

of which 66 volumes are out beyond the time prescribed by the Library regulations.

The Librarian would respectfully recommend to the incoming Council, that, because of the most unsatisfactory condition of the Library's lighting, the present system be remodelled and additional electric lights installed; also that the ceilings need to be repainted in brighter colours in order to brighten the appearance of the room.

All respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) F. C. WURTELE,
Hon. Librarian.

QUEBEC, 31st December, 1903.

It was moved by Mr. P. B. Casgrain, seconded by Mr. C. Tessier, and

Resolved, That the Librarian's report just read be received, adopted and published.

Mr. James Geggie, Treasurer, next read his report which was adopted on motion of Mr. Robertson, seconded by Mr. Wurtele.

Messrs. Henry H. Smith and F. W. Ross were then ballotted for and duly elected associate members.

After which the election of Officers for the ensuing year was proceeded with and resulted as follows:

President, Major W. Wood.

Vice-Presidents, J. T. Ross, P. Johnston, G. W. Parmelee, J. Hamilton.

Treasurer, James Geggie.

Corresponding Secretary, J. F.Dumontier.

Recording Secretary, Alexr. Robertson.

Council Secretary, W. Clint.

Librarian, F. C. Wurtele.

Curator of the Museum, Rev. C. P. O'Leary.

Curator of Apparatus, George Lampson.

Aditional members of Council, Sir James M. LeMoine, P. B. Casgrain, C. Tessier, D. H. Geggie.

The retiring President, Sir James M. LeMoine, having vacated the chair, and the in-coming President, Major Wm. Wood, having assumed it, it was moved by Sir Jame M. LeMoine, seconded by Major Wood, and

Resolved, That Messrs. P. B. Casgrain, S. Lesage and C. Tessier be named a committee charged with the examination of the Papineau-Neilson correspondence, referred to in the report of the Council and that these gentlemen do report to the Council the result of their examination at their convenience.

It was moved by Mr. Parmelee, seconded by Mr. Wurtele, and unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the retiring officers and especially to the retiring President Sir James M. LeMoine, whose long services in various capacities in connection with the Society have contributed so much to its success.

The President moved, seconded by Mr. Johnston, the thanks of the meeting to the scrutineers, after which Major Wood alluded in flattering terms to the long and valuable services which the retiring President, Sir James M. LeMoine, had rendered to the Society. The remarks of Major Wood were received with applause. Sir James then arose and in a neat speech expressed his heartfelt thanks to the members of the Society for the kindness courtesy and consideration which he had always received at their hands during his forty years connection with the Society.

The President then moved, seconded by Sir James M. LeMoine, and it was

Resolved, That before closing the meeting the members desire to place on record their sense of the debt of gratitude which they owe to their Honorary President, Dr. Douglas, for the kind and extremely liberal manner in which he has come forward to aid the Society in endeavouring to regain the position of public usefulness which it formerly occupied.

And the meeting adjourned.

W. CLINT,
Acting Secretary.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
11th JANUARY, 1905

The annual meeting of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society was held at the rooms in Morrin College at 10 o'clock 11th January. There was a good attendance of members, who were highly pleased with the new aspect of things, the room having been completely renovated and presenting a fine appearance. After the routine the following reports were read and adopted:—

The senior of all the societies of Canada we enter our 82nd year to-day with new life, new vigor, new hope, and new resources. In every way the year 1904 has marked an important epoch in our long career. But honor to whom honor is due, and we, the present Council, must beg leave to remind the Society that the new epoch now opening under such happy auspices owes both its birth and expectations to those Presidents and Councils whose devotion alone kept the Society alive through the long adversity of the past fifteen years. We cannot turn towards the consideration of the present without publicly acknowledging our indebtedness to five ex-Presidents whose mere names will at once recall and answer for their services—Dr. George Stewart, Mr. Archibald Campbell, Mr. P. B. Casgrain, Mr. Cyrille Tessier and Sir James LeMoine.

These gentlemen were mainly instrumental in carrying us safely through the most dangerous era of our history, and so enabling us to enjoy the three great benefactions which we have received from the Board of Governors of Morrin College, from the subscribers to our Endowment Fund, and from our Honorary Pre-

sident, Dr. James Douglas. We gladly take this opportunity of being assembled as a society in our annual general meeting to give our unanimous and hearty thanks to all these our benefactors, whose personal service, kindly interest, and far-seeing generosity have, as in the present year, so firmly and so happily linked together our honorable past with such bright prospects for the future.

The Governors of Morrin College have just completed extensive improvements to their whole building, and have proved themselves the most generous of landlords by turning us from tenants into guests, and by giving us a grant of $250 a year.

The Endowment Fund, which stood still at about $3,000 this time last year, now amounts to over $8,500. The munificent legacy of $5,000 was received in September under the will of the late Mrs. J. F. Turnbull. It has already been acknowledged by the Council; but we should beg to assure Colonel Turnbull that the whole Society is animated by the same feelings of sympathy and gratitude, and that Mrs. Turnbull's great example will be kept in perpetual remembrance by being suitably recorded in our Archives and Proceedings. We also thank Mr. Frank Ross for having set the ordinary endowment fund in motion by paying in his subscription of $500.

Our Honorary President, Dr. James Douglas, is, in every way, one of the greatest benefactors the Society has ever had; for he combines great generosity with keen personal interest to a degree which can hardly be realized by any member with whom he has not been brought into personal contact while at work in furthering our prosperity. The payment of his annuity of $500 was begun last year, according to the plan by which one-half of the money is to be spent in buying new books, and the other half in publishing original documents.

As a result of all these benefactions our present position is as follows:

1. Our accommodation is increased by more than one half.

2. The landlord's improvements effected by Morrin College are of great benefit to us, and our premises are now granted to us entirely rent free.

3. We have undertaken tenant's improvements on our own account, at an estimated outlay of about $1,000, which debt is to be paid off by instalments, out of the Morrin College annual grant of $250.

4. Our Endowment Fund now amounts to $8,500; which should soon yield us a revenue of about $400, which will be available for general purposes.

5. Our members' subscriptions are about $600 a year, a sum also available for general purposes. We would beg to draw the attention of all concerned to the fact that the Society does not yet meet with such support, in the practical way of paying membership, as both its services to the public and the advantages it can now offer to new members give it every reasonable right to expect. We must also add that there are serious arrears in far too many subscriptions; and we think it would be well if the rule excluding all members more than twelve months in arrears was strictly enforced in the future.

6. We receive an annuity of $250 from Dr. Douglas for the publication of original documents. We hope to make the best use of this generous grant by taking up certain definite lines of research and following a fixed standard of absolute accuracy in printing word for word and letter for letter. Our first efforts will be directed to publishing one or more volumes containing all the original contemporary documents relating to the American invasion of 1775-76 which still remain in manuscript. We hope to obtain substantial aid from the Government to help us to produce a volume worthy of the subject with which it deals. And we think it advisable to consider the question of publication in the regular book-selling agencies in London and New York

7. Dr. Douglas also gives us an annuity of $250 for the purchase of new books. The sum available for this

purpose is doubled by a similar grant from Morrin College. But, as has been pointed out already, the Board of Governors will retain their annuity until the cost of our tenant's improvements shall have been paid off.

To recapitulate:—

Our income is made up as follows:

A.—Available for general purposes:

1. Members' subscriptions for 1905....	$ 600
2. Interest from Endowment Fund...	400
Total available for general purposes.	$ 1,000

B.—Available for special objects only:

1. Free premises accounted as equivalent to	$ 250
2. Allowance for publication....	250
3. Allowance for book-buying, half from Dr. Douglas, and half from Morrin College....	500
Total for special objects....	$ 1,000
Grand total....	$ 2,000

Our second Bulletin was published on Victoria Day and sent to all members. It contained a full explanation of the present position and future prospects of the Society.

The most important single event during the past year was the erection of the two commemorative historical tablets to mark the sites of the Près-de-Ville and Sault-au-Matelot barricades, where Montgomery and Arnold were so signally defeated in the early morning hours of the last day of 1775. The Society first took action in the matter two years ago, under the presidency of Sir James LeMoine, when a public subscription list was successfully started among our citizens. An interview with the Minister of Militia, however, resulted

in a promise of Government action; and a grant of $1,250 was passed through the Dominion House of Commons last spring.

The Historical Tablet Committee was composed of the following gentlemen, appointed in 1903:—Sir James LeMoine, James Morgan, W. Wood, J. T. Ross, Siméon Lesage, Cyrille Tessier, Fred. C. Wurtele, Alex. Robertson, John Hamilton, W. J. Ray, Lt.-Col. Turnbull and Archibald Campbell.

The inscriptions were composed by Mr. William Wood, President of the Society in 1904; they were submitted to the Historical Tablets Committee and to the Council, and were personally approved by our patron, His Excellency the Earl of Minto, then Governor-General. The whole of the workmanship was carried out to our perfect satisfaction by the firm of Messrs. Walker & Campbell, of Montreal, and both tablets were placed in position before the 129th anniversary of the victory they were designed to commemorate.

The Council would urge the Society to look upon this commemoration as only the beginning of a greater and more far-reaching work. And it would propose that we should at once take the initiative in forming an association, which shall include the whole of the Dominion, for the purpose of preserving all buildings, sites, and other objects of national historic interest which ought to be kept intact for our posterity. We would propose to issue an invitation to all kindred societies in Canada to join what we might call, for short, *The Canadian Landmark Association.* We have already enlisted the warm approval and active support of both the late and present Governors-General of Canada. Under these circumstances, we have no hesitation in asking the whole Society to take up the work, and carry it out to what cannot fail to be a great and lasting success.

The whole respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM WOOD.
President.

QUEBEC, January 11, 1905.

REPORT OF HISTORIC TABLETS COMMITTEE

The historic Tablets Committee of the Literary and Historical Society, at a meeting held on the 23rd December, 1904, desired to place the following on record in a report to the Society.—"The Historic Tablets Committee reports that the Dominion Government having granted the site for the Près-de-Ville tablet, and the Molson's Bank, the site for the Sault-au-Matelot tablet, both tablets are being placed in position and both remain the property of the Society."

The Committee begs further to report to the Society that these bronze tablets commemorating the defeats of Montgomery at the Près-de-Ville barricade, and of Arnold at the Sault-au-Matelot barricade, on the 31st December, 1775, events so important to the destiny of Canada, have been duly erected within four days of the 129th anniversary of that victory.

The Militia Department in a few days will pay over to the President of the Society $1,250 for the cost of the tablets and their erection. This sum will be handed over to the contractors, Messrs. Walker & Campbell, of Montreal, whose work has been performed in a highly satisfactory manner.

As it was thus found unnecessary to continue raising the original subscription among the citizens of Quebec, the amounts received have been returned to the subscribers.

All that remains to be done is to now hand over to the Society the records of the Committee together with all correspondence relating thereto, to be placed in the Society's archives; and as the work has been completed the Committee begs to be relieved of its duties and dissolved.

F. C. WURTELE,

Chairman of the Historic Tablets Committee.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian begs to report that during the past year there have been 527 accessions to the library, consisting of 69 bound and 252 unbound volumes of donations and exchanges from other societies, also 206 volumes have been purchased, sixty of which being works of fiction.

The thanks of the Society are due to several gentlemen who have kindly presented books to the library. J. T. Ross, Esq., for eighteen volumes of Louisa Muhlbach's works, Archibald Campbell, Esq., for several valuable books and a fine portrait of the late Earl of Dufferin and Ava, some time a patron of this Society, "The Fight for Canada," from its author, Major Wood, and interesting books from General J. Watts De-Peyster, Dr. Jas. Douglas, Benjamin Sulte, Esq., and others.

Owing to the many new books placed on the shelves during the past year, the issues have increased, making 1,937 volumes loaned to members, of which 87 still remain out over the fourteen days specified in the by-laws.

Fiction, 1,044; current magazines, 218; travels, 175; general literature, 143; biography, 119; history, 115; poetry and drama, 39; science and art, 25; natural history, 25; classics, 20; French books, 14. Total, 1,937.

The classification of these issues speaks for itself showing what class of works are most sought for by our members, the selection of which makes the task a difficult one for the Library Committee to satisfy the taste of the several readers, who, to facilitate matters, are requested to record their wishes in the recommendation book.

As soon as the book grant from Dr. Douglas arrives, a list of new works will be drawn up and purchases made with as little delay as possible.

The condition of the Library premises has been

greatly improved by the acquisition of the adjoining room, which has been nicely shelved and suitable tables and chairs placed therein. Special shelving has been arranged for the volumes of the Quebec Chronicle, Mercury, Gazette, Berean, Paris Moniteur of 1791 to 1803, and others, which will facilitate the work of research in those ponderous tomes.

This room will also contain works of reference, dictionaries, encyclopedias, &c., &c., the biographical section, United States history and other works, while in the closed book case will be found all the books relating to Canada.

The old room has been cleaned, newly carpeted, the ceiling and walls painted, a new system of electric lighting installed, and the furniture renovated, so that the whole premises now present an attractive and comfortable appearance, which will doubtless be much appreciated. As this house-cleaning operation occasioned the placing of all the books down on to the floor, the opportunity has been taken to rearrange the classification, which will necessitate a revision of the card catalogue, and on completion of this work it would be advisable to print a new catalogue, seeing the last volume is thirty years old and practically useless.

From various causes, not in the province of the Librarian to relate, the Society has been resuscitated and placed on a firm basis, so that the library will henceforth be kept supplied with new reading matter of all kinds, which it is hoped will give greater satisfaction to the members and increase its muster roll.

F. C. WURTELE,
Honorary Librarian.

QUEBEC, 31st December, 1904.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

After some seventeen new members had been elected, the election of officers was proceeded with and resulted as follows:—

Hon. President—Dr. Jas. Douglas.

President—Major Wood, F.R.S.C.

Vice-Presidents—J. T. Ross, P. Johnston, J. Hamilton, D.C.L., and G. W. Parmelee, D.C.L.

Treasurer—James Geggie.

Recording Secretary—A. Robertson.

Corresponding Secretary—A. H. Cook.

Council Secretary—W. Clint.

Librarian—Fred. C. Wurtele.

Curator of Museum—Rev. C. P. O'Leary.

Curator of Apparatus—Geo. Lampson.

Additional members of Council—Sir James LeMoine, Col. J. F. Turnbull, C. Tessier, P. B. Casgrain.

Presidents of the Literary and Historical Society

1824.....Sir N. F. Burton, Lt.-Governor.
1828.....Hon. Mr. Reid, Chief Justice.
1829.....Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R. N.
1830.....Hon. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice.
1831..... " " " " "
1832.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, K.C.
1833.....Hon. W. Sheppard.
1834..... " " "
1835.....Joseph Skey, M.D.
1836.....Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D.
1837.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, K.C.
1838..... " " " "
1839.....Wm. Kelly, M.D., R.N.
1840..... " " " "
1841.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1842.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1843.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1844.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1845.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1846.....John C. Fisher, Esq., LL.D.
1847.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1848.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1849.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1850..... " " "
1851..... " " "
1852..... " " "
1853..... " " "
1854..... " " "
1855.....E. A. Meredith, Esq., M.A.
1856.....W. Andrew, Esq.
1857..... " " "
1858.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1859..... " " "
1860.....E. A. Meredith, Esq., M.A.
1861..... " " " "
1862.....John Langton, Esq., M.A.
1863..... " " " "
1864..... " " " "
1865..... " " " "

1866.....Com. E. D. Ashe, R.N.
1867..... " " "
1868.....Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D.
1869.....Prof. James Douglas.
1870.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1871.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq.
1872-3.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1873.....Com. E. D. Ashe, R.N., F.R.S.
1874.....Prof. James Douglas.
1875..... " " "
1876.....James Stevenson, Esq.
1877..... " " "
1878..... " " "
1879.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq., F.R.S.C.
1880..... " " " "
1881..... " " " "
1882..... " " " "
1883.....Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.
1884..... " " "
1885.....G. Stewart, D.C.L., F.R.S.C., F.R.G.S.
1886..... " " " "
1887..... " " " "
1888..... " " " "
1889..... " " " "
1890..... " " " "
1891..... " " " "
1892.....Cyrille Tessier, Esq.
1893..... " " "
1894.....Archibald Campbell, Esq.
1895..... " " "
1896.....Very Rev. R. W. Norman, D.D., Dean of Quebec.
1897..... " " " "
1898.....P. B. Casgrain, Esq.
1899..... " " "
1900.....William Wood, Esq.
1901..... " " "
1902.....Sir Jas. M. LeMoine, D.C.L., F.R.S.C.
1903..... " " " " "
1904.....Major William Wood, F.R.S.C.
1905..... " " " "

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

FOUNDED IN 1824

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831

PATRON:

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE RIGHT HON. EARL GREY, G.C.M.G, BARON GREY OF HOWICK, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

HONORARY PRESIDENT:

JAMES DOUGLAS, D.C.L., Spuyten Duyvil, N.Y.

HONORARY MEMBERS:

The Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G.
The Earl of Aberdeen.
The Earl of Derby.
The Marquis of Landsdowne, G.C.M.G.
The Duke of Argyle.
Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., L.L.D., F.R.S.C.
John Miller Grant. Esq., London.
Revd. Charles Rogers, L.L.D., F.S.A., Scotland.
Sir Gilbert Parker, D.C.L., M.P., London.
Sydney Robjohns, Esq., F.R.H.S., Scotland.
Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., Niagara, P.O.
John Reade, F.R.S.C., Montreal.
James Ashbury, Esq., England.
Goldwin Smith, D.C.L., L.L.D., F.R.S.C., Toronto.
Henry Philips, Jr., Philadelphia.
Arthur G. Bradley, Esq., Northampton, England.
Arthur G. Doughty, Litt.D, F.R.H.S., England, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
James Bain, Jr., D.C.L., Toronto.
Wm. C. Lane, Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.
Lt.-Col. George T. Denison, F.R.S.C., Toronto.
Sir James Grant, K.C.M.G., F.G.S., F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
S. E. Dawson, Litt. D., F.R.S.C., Ottawa.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Anderson, W. P., Lt.-Col., Ottawa.
Bartholomew, J. G., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.E., London.
Boucher de Boucherville, Hon., M.L.C., Boucherville, P.Q.
Brock, R. A., Richmond, Virginia, U.S.
Bailey, Dr. L. W., F.R.S.C., Fredericton, N.B.
Church, F. W., M.D., Boston.
D'Abbadie, Antoine, Membre de L'Institut de France, Paris.
Denham, Edward, New Bedford, Mass., U.S.
DeSechelles, Desmazières, St. Malo, France.
D'Urban, W. S. M., England.
DePeyster, Gen. J. Watts, Tivoli, N.Y, U.S.
Dansereau, Arthur, Montreal.
Filippi, le Comte Waldèmar, Paris.
Ganong, W. F., M.A., Cambridge, Mass, U.S.
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JESUIT COLLEGE BUILT 1647-66

Since 1776 used as a Barracks—Demolished in 1877—City Hall built on its site 1895

Education in Quebec in the 17th Century

READ BEFORE THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, THE 26TH JANUARY, 1905

BY

JAMES DOUGLAS, L. L. D.

HONORARY PRESIDENT

Quebec may claim the credit of being one of the first seats of learning on the Continent. In the City of Mexico was built the first American University, though created by Royal Charter in 1551, it was erected on so sumptuous a scale that the Century was closing before it was opened.

Harvard dates its birth from 1640, when the school developed into the college, by the aid of the Rev. John Harvard's gift of £1700 and his library of 260 volumes. The object of the bequest was "to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity," the testator "dreading to have an illiterate ministry of the Churches, when its present ministers shall lie in the dust," It was 27 years later before the older colony of Virginia, through the perseverance of the Rev. Dr. Blair, came to possess the William and Mary College. Sixty-one years after the foundation of Harvard, Yale was also created with the avowed purpose of making it a training school for the ministers.

The first school-master in Canada was the Recollet Brother Pacifique, who taught some little savages at Three Rivers as early as 1616; the second was Father

Le Caron, of the same order who, two years afterwards, opened a school in Tadousac. The Friars of St. Francis, had their means been sufficient, might have established the Seminary at Quebec, which their general syndic, Mons. Charles de Boues, recognised as an essential adjunct to missionary work; but, once the Jesuits entered the field, higher education was felt to be rightfully within their province.

When the Jesuits returned to Canada without the Recollets, after the restoration, Father LeJeune promptly opened school with two scholars, and in 1635 the society built a schoolhouse, in which they tried the co-education of white and red boys with very indifferent success. At first the teaching was of an elementary character, but within twenty years the school had developed into a college with a teaching staff which included professors of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy and the humanities.

The education of boys and girls, in fact occupied the energies of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the little town, nor were women overlooked. The census of 1681, after enumerating the establishment of the Governor as 21 persons, that of the Intendant as 10 and the military force as 21, gives in detail the staff of the Seminary, the Jesuit College, the Recollet Monastery and the Nunneries as follows:

In the Seminary were Mons: the Bishop, M. de Bernier, the Superior and 23 Priests....	25
Boarders....	20
Male servants..	18
Wives and daughters of the servants....	4
On the farm of 60 arpents were 4 cows, 2 horses, 1 ass.	

The household of the Jesuits consisted of:

Priests....	8
Brothers....	7

*Frèrese donnés, lay servants under vows (see note).... 4
Servants not under vows.... 10
And the wife of Frère donné Guilbault.

The Jesuits had 4 oxen, 4 cows, 1 horse on their farm of 30 acres.

In the Recollets Monastery were:
Friars.... 47
Frères donnés.... 3

The Convent of the Hospitalières (the Hotel Dieu hospital) had on its staff of nurses:
Mothers.... 19
Sisters.... 9

As boarders were Mad. d'Aillebout, the widow of the ex-governor, and her servant Edmé Chastel. The good lady had twice entered the Ursuline Convent once during her husband's life, with his consent, and again after his death, but her resolution was not equal to her piety, and the seclusion of the nunnery taxed beyond endurance her active temperament, which found a more congenial sphere of duty in the hospital.

In the service of the hospital were:
Male servants.... 23
Female.... 1
and their live stock on their farm of 150 arpents, consisted of 30 horned cattle, 40 calves and 40 sheep.

The Ursuline Nunnery harbored:
Mothers.... 22
Sisters.... 7

* Frères Donnés were laymen who pledged themselves to serve for life without other remuneration than their maintenance, in whatever class of labor might be imposed on them. The members of this lay order, as first organised to assist the missionaries, took a vow of service and wore a religious habit; and on the other hand the Society undertook to maintain them till death, without any reservation. The Jesuit authorities in Rome refused to sanction the formation of what was substantially a sub-order; but when Father Lalemant proposed to abolish the habit, and to relieve the society from the obligation of perpetual maintenance, by claiming the right to discharge an unworthy servant, the General Vitelleschi permitted the institution of this class of helpers, who were most useful in the western mission stations.

French boarders.... 17
Indian boarders.... 10

on the farm of 200 acres were 4 male servants, 40 head of cattle, 3 horses and 13 sheep.

Thus to administer to the spiritual wants and to the education of its male population, there were in Quebec 47 ordained priests and friars, 29 Ursuline nuns taught the girls, and there were 39 Mothers and sisters in the hospital. In the five religious houses there were 104 priests and nuns under solemn vows, and they employed in the service of their households and farms some 67 men and women. Of the population, therefore, of 1345 over 12 per cent. was engaged directly or indirectly in religious, educational or hospital service.

The Ursuline nuns then as now taught day scholars as well as boarders and their school at that date was the only agency for imparting female education. Though they had on their roll ten little savages, the hope with which Mad. de la Peltrie and her friend Mère Marie de l'Incarnation had founded the nunnery, that it would be a training school for Indian girls, whom they wished to fit for becoming the wives of French bachelors, was fading year by year. Experience showed that French husbands were more prone to follow their squaws into the forest than the squaws were to settle down into French housewives. Nevertheless Frontenac himself still cherished the belief that he could win the Western tribes over to the French side by nobler motives than the desire of mere gain, and in his cortege from Fort Frontenac there were generally some Indian girls, whom he was bringing to Quebec to be educated and civilized by the Ursulines, and he contributed 1000 fr. annually towards their maintenance and education at the convent. The standard of education was not high in those days. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation said in 1660 in a letter to her son that some pupils are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, prayers Christian morals, in short all that a good girl should know*. If the pupils

* This letter to her son, from which we make the following long extract, is interesting. It describes the system of female education and gives the

were not crammed with learning, they were taught the exquisite graces of courtesy and reverence for holy things, which grafted on their native vivacity, excited the admiration and respect of such gallants as Lahontan and such grave savants as Kalm; and which have been inherited in full measure by their sisters to-day.

The good ladies unfortunately had to bear more than their fair share of calamities. The first convent was

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Mother's explanation of the freedom of manner which even then characterized Canadian girls. While making an apology for the Jesuits who ignored, in the Relations, the labours of all other agencies, clerical and secular except their own, she cannot conceal the irritation which their literary publications excited among the religious bodies in the Colony :

" Premiérément, nous avons tous les jours sept Religieuses de Chœur, employées à l'instruction des filles Françoises ; sans y comprendre deux Converses qui sont pour l'exterieur. Les filles sauvages logent et mangent avec les filles Françoises ; mais pour leur instruction, il leur faut une Maîtresse particulière, et quelquefois plus selon le nombre que nous en avons. Je viens de refuser à mon grand regret sept seminaristes Algonquines, parce que nous manquons de vivres, les Officiers ayant tout enlevé pour les troupes du Roy qui en manquoient. Depuis que nous sommes en Canada nous n'en avions refusé aucune nonobstant nôtre pauvreté; et la necessité où nous avons été de refuser celles-cy, m'a causé une très sensible mortification ; mais il me l'a fallu subir et m'humilier dans nôtre impuissance, qui nous méme obligées de rendre quelques filles Françoises à leurs parens. Nous nous sommes restraintes à seize Françoises et à trois Sauvages, dont il y en a deux d'Hiroquoises, et une captive à qui l'on veut que nous apprenions la langue Françoise. Je ne parle point des pauvres qui font un tres-grand nombre, et à qui il faut que nous fassions part de ce qui nous reste. Revenons à nos Pensionnaires.

L'on est fort soigneux en ce païs de faire instruire les filles Françoises ; et je vous puis assurer que s'il n'y avoit des Ursulines elles seroient dans un danger continuel de leur salût. La raison est qu'il y a un grand nombre d'hommes, et un père et une mère qui ne voudront pas perdre la Messe, une Fête ou un Dimanche laisseroient leur enfans à la maison avec plusieurs hommes pour les garder ; s'il y a des filles, quelqu'age qu'elles ayent, elles sont dans un danger évident, et l'expérience fait voir qu'il les faut mettre en lieu de sureté. Enfin ce que je puis dire est que les filles en ce païs sont pour la plus part plus sçavantes en plusieurs matières dangereuses, que celles de France. Trente filles nous donnent plus de travail dans le pentionnaire que soixante ne font en France. Les externes nous en donnent beaucoup, mais nous ne veillons pas sur leurs mœurs commes si elles etoient en clôture. Elles sont dociles, elles ont l'esprit bon, elles sont fermes dans le bien quand elles le connoissent ; mais comme plusieurs ne sont pensionnaires que peu de temps, il faut que les Maîtresses s'appliquent fortement a leur éducation, et qu'elles apprennent quelquefois dans un an a lire, a écrire, a jetter les prières, les mœurs Chrétiennes, et tous ce que doit sçavoir une fillle. Il y en a que les parens nous laissent jusqu'a ce qu'elles soient en age d'êtres pourvuës, soit pour le monde, soit pour Religion. Nous en avons huit tant professes, que Novices qui n'ont point voulu retourner au monde, et qui sont très-bien, ayant été élevées dans une grande innocence, et nous en avons encore qui ne voulent point retourner chez leurs parens se trouvant bien dans la Maison de Dieu. Deux de celles-là sont petites filles de Monsieur de Lozon bien connu en France, lesquelles n'attendent que le retour de Monsieur de Lozon Carny pour entrer au Noviciat. L'on nous en donne pour les disposer à leur première communion pour cet effet elles sont deux ou trois mois dans le Seminaire.

Pour les Filles Sauvages nous en prenons de tout âge. Il arrivera que

burnt in 1650. A second fire broke out while the nuns and their pupils were at mass on Sunday morning, Oct. 20, 1686. It destroyed the nunnery with its valuable records, and the chapel, only sparing Mad. de la Peltrie's house. Misfortune, however, only stimulated their ardour and the interest of others in their work; for, on the re-opening of the convent after the fire, just half a century after the members of the order first

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quelque Sauvage soit Chrétien soit Payen voudra s'oublier de son devoir et enlever quelque fille de sa nation pour la garder contre la loy de Dieu, on nous la donne, et nous l'instruisons et la gardons jusqu'à ce que les Révérends Pères la vienne retirer. D'autres n'y sont que comme des oyseaux passagers, et n'y demeurent que jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient tristes, ce que l'humeur sauvage ne peut souffrir : dès qu'elles sont tristes, les parens les retirent de crainte qu'elles ne meurent. Nous ne les laissons libres en ce point, car on les gagne plutôt par ce moyen, que de les retenir par contrainte ou par prières. Il y en a d'autres qui s'en vont par fantaisie et par caprice ; elles grimpent comme des écureux notre palliseade, qui est haute comme une muraille, et vont courir dans les bois. Il y en a qui perseverent et que nous élevons à la Françoise : on les pourvoit en suite et elles font très-bien. L'on en a donné une à Monsieur Boucher, qui a été depuis Governeur des trois Rivières. D'autres retournent chez leurs parens sauvages ; elles parlent bien François, et sont sçavantes dans la lecture et dans l'écriture.

Voilà les fruits de notre petit travail, dont j'ai bien voulu vous dire quelques particularitez, pour répondre aux bruits que vous dites que l'on fait courir que les Ursulines sont inutiles en ce païs, et que les Relations ne parlent point qu'elles y fassent rien. Nos Révérends Pères et Monsignor nôtre Prélat sont ravis de l'éducation que nous donnons à la jeunesse. Ils font communier nos filles dès l'âge de huit ans, les trouvant autant instruites qu'elles le peuvent être ? Que, si l'on dit que nous sommes icy inutiles, parce que la relation ne parle point de nous, il faut dire que Monsignor notre Prélat est inutile, que son séminaire est inutile, que le Séminaire des Révérends Peres est inutile, que Messieurs les Ecclésiastiques de Montréal sont inutile, et enfin que les Mères Hospitalières sont inutiles, parceque les relations ne disent rien de tout cela. Et cependant c'est ce qui fait le soutien, la force, et l'honneur même de tout le païs. Si la relation ne dit rien de nous, ni des Compagnies ou Séminaires dont je viens de parler, c'est qu'elle fait seulement mention du progrès de l'Evangile, et de ce qui y a du rapport ; et encore lorsqu'on en envoye les exemplaires d'ici, l'on en retranche en France beaucoup de choses. Madame la Duchesse de Sennessay qui me fait l'honneur de m'écrire tous les ans, m'en manda l'année dernière le déplaisir qu'elle avoit de quelque chose qu'on avoit retranché, et elle me dit quelque chose de semblable encore cette année. M. C. qui imprime la relation et qui aime fort les Hospitalières d'ici, y inséra de son propre mouvement une lettre que la Supérieure luy avoir écrite, et cela fit bien du bruit en France. Mon très-cher Fils, ce que nous faisons en cette nouvelle Eglise est veu de Dieu et non pas des hommes ; notre clôt couvre tout, et il est difficile de parler de ce qu'on ne voit pas. Il en est tout autrement des Mères Hospitalières ; l'Hôpital étant ouvert et les biens qui s'y font étant venus de tout le monde, on pourroit louër avec raison leurs charité exemplaire. Mais enfin elles et nous attendons la récompense de nos services de Celui qui penètre dans les lieux les plus cachez, et qui voit aussi clair dans les ténèbres que dans les lumières, cela nous suffit.

Québec, le 9 d'août, 1668.

p. 257 of the Edition of *Lettres* of 1681.

landed in Canada, the community numbered 34 members devoted exclusively to teaching. Yet they were prepared for other tasks when called upon, for, the convent consented to spare some of their members to undertake the duty of nurses, in the nunnery established in 1697 in Three Rivers, where the population was too small to support both a school and a hospital. The Court at Versailles did not look with favour on this multiplication of conventual establishments, and the King, declined to confer on it Letters Patent. In the same dispatch he commented with disapproval on Bishop St. Vallier's plan of putting the General Hospital in charge of a separate community of the Hospitalières, and insisted that it should be subject to the Inspector of Hospitals.

While in Paris in 1663, or eight years after the opening of the Jesuit College in Quebec, and twenty-three years after President Dunster was inducted as principal of Harvard, Bishop Laval created by Letters Episcopal the Seminary of Quebec for the theological education of the clergy of Canada. The King confirmed this act, by letters patent of date April 30, 1663, and in September of the same year the Bishop landed in Quebec accompanied or preceded by M.M. de Maizeret, Pommier, Dudouyt, de Bernières, Lechavalier and Forest, who had been engaged to perform clerical functions and to conduct his contemplated seminary.

The intention of the founder was that the Seminary should be an establishment in which young clerics, "who might be judged fit for the service of God, should be educated and trained. And to that end they should be instructed in the manner of administering and preaching the sacraments and the methods of catechising and preaching apostolically; also should be taught moral theology, the ceremonies of the Church, the plain Gregorian Chant, and whatever other studies are necessary to fit them for fulfilling well the duties of the priesthood."

The Jesuit College was already giving the community advanced training in secular learning, and its course

of preliminary studies was adapted to those proposing to enter the church and undertake pastoral work. Bishop Laval, therefore, when he founded the Greater Seminary, confined the instruction given by its professors to purely theological and ritual subjects, entrusting the instruction of his future clergy in secular subjects to the able hands of the Jesuits.

Subsequently, and till the conquest, the pupils of the Little Seminary, which was opened in 1665, received their instruction in the Jesuit College on the other side of the Market Place. But this elementary school was then the principal source whence the clergy of Lower Canada who were to complete their education in the Seminary were selected, and such it remains to this day. Boys enter it young, and if they exhibit the ability and disposition held to be desirable in a priest, they are from childhood consecrated to God, and enveloped in the atmosphere of the Church. They live, move and have their very being in the Seminary, which is to them the expression of the Church's fostering care. Though the priesthood has thus been drawn from its pupils the Lesser Seminary of Quebec has none the less been the largest general elementary school in the Province: and from it, for a century and a half all the professions have drawn into their special schools a succession of children throughly drilled in the classical languages and less thoroughly in commercial branches.

With the exception of the Seminary maintained by the Sulpicians in Montreal and a school started by the Jesuits soon after 1692 in Montreal and which did not flourish'* the Jesuit College in Quebec was, till the con-

* Rochemonteau tells us, in a note to page 364 of volume III of his *Jésuites et La Nouvelle France*, that the *Résidence de Montréal* was founded only in 1692, by permission of Monseigneur de St. Vallier, and that P. Vaillant de Gueslin was the first superior. A school must have been at once opened, for Frère Jean Cauchetière, in a letter to his brother, in 1694, says: "My occupation this year will be the same as during the last—namely, that of pro-to-regent of Ville Marie, with 12 or 15 pupils ; and I teach mathematics to some young men who are officers in the troops. On Sundays we have our confessions, which keep us busy ; and on the first Sunday of the month it is most often I who preach. And although the gentlemen of St. Sulpice observe certain outward relations with us, nevertheless on the principal feasts we go

quest, practically the only seat of learning in Canada equipped to give a general education. Ferland gives the number of students at the Jesuit College in 1668 as 120, of whom 60 were boarders. Lahontan in 1684, described the college as so small that it could accommodate only 50 pupil-boarders at a time, and La Potherie tells us that 80 of the Jesuits' pupils were lodged in the Seminary opposite. These were really youths who had been enrolled at the Seminary, but, who pursued their general studies at the College, where, according to Bishop Saint Vallier, they acquired as great aptitude and facility as the best educated youth in France.

The available information as to the course of study and the manner of life within the college is scanty. The latter has probably little changed, in similar institutions of the kind, even to-day, the former we know has been greatly modified. Father Rochemonteix, in his "Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France," has collected many data, which we have freely used.

Before Kirke's conquest René Rohault de Gamache, a devotee and afterwards a novice and a priest of the

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with them into the choir to hear the office, and chant vespers, and even in the processions. There is an agreement between them and us that we shall each say a mass for them, and they say one for us once a year,—we on the feast of the presentation of the blessed Virgin, and they during the octave of St. Ignatius ; and when any one dies on either side, we say the usual prayers for the dead. Nevertheless, they are very hierarchical. The order of our college is to enter at 9 o'clock, and the mass is said at 10. In the afternoon, I enter at 3 o'clock ; and, at 4 I teach mathematics until five."

But the school was evidently not able to draw pupils away from the Sulpicians ; for in another paragraph of the same letter he says : "I know not what will become of me. As our college of Ville Marie is not endowed, we are not of opinion that a teacher should be maintained there any longer. We teach, however ; and I am preparing myself to continue my mathematics I have two or three pupils on the ships, and one is second pilot on a King's ship. Nevertheless, our Rev. Father Superior always tells me to hold myself ready to go to the Iroquois, if peace is made ; or to go to Hudson's Bay."

In another letter the same priest says : "It was also determined that I should go up to Missilimakainac, to assume the direction of the Huron Mission. Finally, I remained here, where we have a sort of college, which is not endowed ; but I think the gentlemen of Ville Marie will not have it long unless they endow it, because the revenues are very slight. I have pupils who are good fifth-class scholars ; but I have others with beards on their chins, to whom I teach navigation, fortification, and other mathematical subjects. One of my pupils is pilot on the ship which sails to the north. Moreover, we hear confessions on Sundays and holidays, and preach once a month in our church."

order gave 16000 fl., gold coin, and an annual rental of 3,000 livres to found and support a college in Quebec. Political, however, and the fall of Quebec prevented the realization of his wish.

Father Lalemant writes to the General Jean Paul Oliva: "The thoughts of the founder can be expressed in few words to aid and give spiritual instruction to the Canadians."

The instruction was thus undoubtedly at first very elementary and exclusively religious. But in 1651 P. Ragueneau reports to the Superior that besides a teacher of reading and writing, there were in the college a profesor of grammar, another of mathematics and 16 scholars. By the year 1655, there were added professors of philosophy, rhetoric and the humanities.

Elementary mathematics had always formed a subject of study, but M. Talon, the Intendant, regarding Canada as a nursery for the Marine of France, induced the Jesuits to open a class for instruction in higher mathematics and hydrography. They had among their number a layman (Frère-Donné le Sieur de Saint Martin) fit for the task, who became the precursor of a line of eminent teachers of mathematics, astronomy and navigation, all Jesuit Fathers, provided by the King with apparatus and supported from the Royal Treasury.

The curriculum was extended when Bishop Laval decided to educate a native clergy, and, lacking a professional staff of his own, requested the Jesuits to teach theology. The professors of philosophy undertook this additional duty, for though M. de Beauharnais urges that, in consideration of the educational services of the Jesuits, the state pay the salary of 300 livres to an additional professor of philosophy, the recommendation was not agreable, to the King. He was willing to pay a professor of navigation, but not of philosophy, for, even in those days, there were advocates for a practical as opposed to a too exclusively theoretical training. Theology, having thus been added to the secular course of studies, the Jesuits continued to instruct youths for the priesthood long after the Grand Seminary was

equipped. Their college also maintained contrary to the usage in Europe an elementary department, for P. de Lauzon in announcing to the General the death in 1734 of Father Guesnier, the professor of philosophy and theology, mentions that he also taught the catechism in the Junior school, which numbered over 100 children.

(*From Williams' History of Canada*) :—

"The ruling motive of Loyola was to arrest the growth of heresy by bringing the Church into harmony with the progress of the age, and thus producing a counter reformation within the Church itself. The agency by which he proposed to effect and actually did effect, this momentous revolution was "higher education." He conceived the idea, while yet an illiterate devotee in the monastery of Montserrat, where he had hung up his Knight's sword, resolved to fight no longer under the orders of the King of Navarre, but under those of the Pope. Loyola was a man of the world, and saw that the venom of heresy injected into all classes by Luther, Calvin, and the Dutch, English and Scotch reformers, to say nothing of the hardly less pernicious spirit of scepticism and cynicism emanating from such scholars in the Church itself as Erasmus, far from being counteracted, would be inflamed by the noisy, vituperative abuse of the monks. He correctly judged that a body of priests must be reared up within the Church, who, while absolutely obedient to the See of Rome, could defend the Church's position by argument as well as by an example of pure and devout living. He foresaw too that the spread of liberal ideas in politics and religion could be checked among the youths of Europe, all aglow with the intellectual intoxication of the revival of the 15th and 16th centuries, only by supplying them with as sound an education, based on as profound learning, as the best of the existing schools, colleges, and universities could offer, but imparted by professors who had been drilled, throughout a long novitiate, both as teachers and as priests, to make intellectual education subservient to religion as taught by the Church of Rome.

To fit himself for formulating such a system he went through thirteen years of hard study, which began only when he was thirty-three years of age. The constitution of the order was framed by himself with the assistance of the famous group of his early disciples, but it was formally promulgated only after his death. The duties and functions of the Society are set forth as ten in number, the fourth being education. But though occupying only the fourth position, education stood really first among the means which the Society used to influence the world; for whether fighting heresy in Europe, or heathenism in Asia, or savagery in America, the one means which its members never neglected was the establishing of colleges and universities where sound learning was taught, and strict morality observed. Only two years had elapsed after the foundation of the order, which took place in 1540, before two colleges had been established, one in Portugal and the other at Goa, in Hindustan, the latter by the greatest of Oriental missionaries, Saint Francis Xavier. This college, which grew in time into a university, teaching all the branches of a liberal education in every language of the Orient, with a staff of 120 learned professors, all thoroughly trained and disciplined members of the order, became the parent of so many colleges in Japan, China and elsewhere in the East, that by the time the Jesuits entered on their missionary labors in North America, it seemed as though they were almost certain to win to Christianity the whole East, through the persuasive influence of profound learning, directed towards the exposition of Christian doctrine."*

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* In presenting the Christian religion for acceptance, the Jesuits, with judicious elasticity, adopted such of the practices of and prejudices of the great masses of humanity they were endeavoring to leaven as they did not consider contradictory to the teachings of their Divine Master. Unfortunately, their concessions in certain directions were regarded as laxity, and they were compelled by Rome to adhere more rigidly to Western rules. Then commenced the decline of their Eastern missions.

The controversy on *Chinese Rites* is interesting to the student of American history, as it brings into clear light the mission and methods of the Jesuits. Neither applied to China or New France. They certainly tried to follow the Apostolic practice of making the transition from paganism to Christianity as easy as possible for their converts by discriminating between essential and non-essentials.

François Xavier after carrying the gospel to India and Japan, died on the

We cannot wonder that, under the stimulus of such magnificent success, the Society promised itself a similar harvest in America. But the human material afforded by the North American Indian was widely different from that on which they had worked in the Orient, as the Fathers discovered even before they had commenced to build their college, and while still endeavouring to collect a school of Indian children at Notre Dame des Anges, but if they could not convert the Indians through their schools, they could train the

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island of Sanmian, when waiting to enter China as a missionary. Father Ricci, who followed, was successful in establishing churches in China, but by methods of which his successor, Father Lombard disapproved. The Abbé Huc in his "Christianity in China" describes the controversy on Rites, and incidentally by illustrating the elastic adaptability of the Jesuit system to the exigencies of each separate mission, explains some of the sources of their success :

"Father Lombard, though feeling profound respect and admiration for the founder of the mission, did not entirely coincide in the opinion formed by Father Ricci of the religious and philosophical doctrines of China. Father Ricci, after having studied from the very commencement of his apostleship the character and genius of the nation whom he had been called to evangelise, had come to the conclusion that the best means that could be adopted for bringing the Chinese to a knowledge of the truth, would be to subscribe partly to the praises unceasingly lavished upon Confucius by both nation and government, by whom he was regarded as the wise man *par excellence*, the master of all science, and the legislator of the empire. He thought that in the doctrines advanced by this philosopher as to the nature of God, he found much that bore a considerable resemblance to those of Christianity, and that *Tien*, or Heaven as conceived by the educated classes, was not the material and visible one, but the true God, the Lord of Heaven, the Supreme Being, invisible and spiritual, of infinite perfection, the creator of all things, the only God in fact, whom Confucius directs his disciples to adore and worship."

"With regard also to the honours paid by the Chinese to their ancestors Father Ricci had adopted the same idea, and looked from the same point of view. He was himself persuaded, and he endeavored to persuade the other missionaries, that the sacrifices offered to ancestors were purely of a civil nature ; and were solely offered in obedience to the feelings of veneration, filial piety and love, by which the Chinese had been in all ages, inspired towards the authors of their being, and the wise men who had spread the benefits of science and civilization over the empire. Ricci had thus concluded that these sacrifices and national fêtes, if traced to their real sources in the principles of Chinese philosophy, formed no part of a superstitious and pagan worship but were simply of a civil and political nature, and might be still preserved, at any rate with regard to Confucius, and to their ancestors, by the Christian Chinese.

"Such was the opinion of Father Ricci, and of a large number of his brethren. It was a system that offered every facility to the missionaries, and that greatly assisted them in propagating the Christian faith. The ancient and only religion of the Chinese had always been confined to the worship of Tien (Heaven), of the wise men, and of their ancestors. The delusions of Tao-Sse, and the superstitions of the Bonzes, had captivated them at various periods, but had never obtained any well rooted belief, and never been made a part of their faith. By declaring that the worship of Heaven was similar to that of the true God, and that the homage paid to ancestors and to Confucius

youths of the colony into good scholars and faithful Catholics. Therefore they lost no time in building a college. By the date the order had existed for a century and its system of education had been formulated in the *Ratio Studiorum,* which has remained to our day the educational code of every Jesuit college throughout the world. So successful had the system proved that, before the close of the 17th century, there existed 769 colleges and universities, manned exclusively by Jesuit

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was a legitimate expression of filial piety towards the chiefs of families and the benefactors of the race the missionaries were greatly favored by the Chinese ideas, instead of coming into collision with them, and never failed to become popular on that account, especially among the educated classes, who abandoned willingly the creed of the Bonzes and of Tao-Sse."

"Father Lombard looked at all these Chinese customs from a very different point of view. The esteem that he had felt for the talent and virtue of Father Ricci had induced him before to suspend his judgement, and his scruples as to the correctness of the system followed by this apostle; but when he found himself at the head of the mission, and responsible for all the errors that might arise, he considered it his duty to examine this important question with greater attention. He set himself seriously, therefore, to the study of the works of Confucius, and of his most celebrated commentators, and consulted such of the literary men as could throw a light on the subject, and in whom he could place confidence. Many of the other of the Jesuit missionaries entered into the controversy, and opinions were divided. Father Lombard wrote a book on the subject, in which it was examined to the bottom, and in which he came to the conclusion that the doctrine of Confucius and his disciples was tainted with materialism and atheism; that the Chinese in reality recognized no divinity but Heaven, and the general effect that it had upon the beings of the Universe; that their opinion was nothing but a subtle æriform substance; and finally that their views as to its immortality closely resembled the theory of Metempsychosis obtained from Indian philosophers. Regarded from this point of view, the customs of China appeared to Lombard and the missionaries who took his side, as an idolatry utterly incompatible with the sanctity of Christianity,—criminal acts, the impiety of which must be shown to the Chinese on whom by the grace of God, the light of the Gospel had shown and which must be absolutely forbidden to all Christians, whatever might be their condition, or whatever part of the empire they might inhabit. The use of the words: *Tien* and *Chang-Ti*, even, by which they designated the divinity, were interdicted. It will be seen from this how widely the rigorous orthodox of Father Lombard differed from the excesive tolerance of Father Ricci."

"Such was the commencement of the disagreements which afterwards proved more fatal to the prosperity of the missions, than the most violent persecutions ever raised by the mandarins. They arose in the bosom of the Society of Jesuits, before missionaries of any other order arrived in China, and we shall, further on, see the dispute developing itself and assuming the lamentable form of a fierce contest. The discussion on Chinese rites, on the worship of ancestors and of Confucius, was not confined within the limits of the Celestial Empire, but spread over Europe, where, as in Asia, the controversy was carried on with the utmost acrimony and passion. Profuse dissertations and numerous pamphlets on the subject were scattered about everywhere; but, instead of bringing out the truth, they served but to envelope it in still thicker obscurity, until at last the Church, with her sovereign and absolute authority, put an end to this long contest, and restored the peace which this time, it must be confessed, had not been broken by the pagans."

priests, and enrolling as students one quarter of a million of the most promising of the world.

That the Jesuit college in Quebec was planned and built on such a scale, that it was larger than all the public buildings of Quebec combined, only expressed the enthusiastic faith of the order in its own high mission. Yet their school was virtually closed before the order was abolished by the British Government. Paradoxical as it may seem, both the success and the failure of the Jesuit body are probably due to the splendid education of its members. That men so thoroughly trained intellectually should eschew politics was as impossible in politically developed Europe as in barbarous America, and it has been their interference in secular affairs that has brought them into conflict with the civil powers. On the other hand, the order has for four centuries educated more scions of the governing classes than any other teaching body, and so attractive have its professors, whether as men, friends or trainers, been to their pupils, that even such heretics as Voltaire have expressed only kindly recollections of the years of tuition spent in a Jesuit College. Moreover their severe training has raised the Jesuits individually above the grossness into which too often the mendicant orders have fallen, while their learning and greater breadth of view have given their faith in the essential truths of Christianity a more rational basis than that possessed by some other ecclesiastical bodies, whose orthodoxy was merely the doxy of the catechism and tradition. A fair and well balanced judgment of this remarkable body of men and of the system under which they worked is as essential to any just estimate of the forces which have shaped Canadian history as in an unprejudiced view of Puritanism to a true comprehension of the story of the United States.

In the system which Loyola evolved, there is combined good sense with arbitrary obedience to rule. Though in the glow of his devout enthusiasm he reduced himself to poverty and supported himself during the long years of his literary education by charity, he

learned from this experience, that hunger and physical fatigue are enemies to study, and that the mind works best in a healthy, well fed, properly rested body. Consequently, though he decreed that the members of his order should take the most stringent vows of personal poverty, he encouraged the order in its corporate capacity, to accumulate all the property it could for the support of its vast and widly extended missionary and educational enterprises. Its professors received no salaries, and its pupils paid no fees. Though in course of time it became the richest corporation in the world, the members of the order never degenerated, by reason of its wealth, into sloth and luxury, and its boarders—*convicti*—were well fed and well housed. The Canadian Fathers gladly submitted to extreme hardships and dangers in their missionary journeyings, living year after year in absolute isolation from all intellectual converse and social refinement; and if, when they returned to Quebec, they found awaiting them the innocent luxury of a good bed, their well kept garden and grove, and a good dinner washed down with good wine, cooled if it were not claret, with ice from their own ice-house (Lahontan makes special mention of that useful addition to their establishment) he would be a captious critic who should begrudge them such well earned comfort and refreshment.

Rochemonteix says that, according to the correspondence of the Superior preserved in the general archives, the principal exercises in the Quebec College apart from the lectures of the professors, were *les Répétitions, Sabbatine, et les Menstruales.* The *Répétitions* were held daily. Every Saturday, and at the end of each month the students engaged in a *viva voce* argument in the presence of a professor on a subject prescribed in advance. The advocate expounded the thesis and defended it; his oponent maintained the contradictory proposition. The argument was in Latin, and the debaters were rigorously confined in their argument to the syllogistic method. These weekly and monthly disputations were private, but before the end of the scholastic year there was a great public debate. The first

of these is referred to in the Journal of the Jesuits of the 2nd of July, 1666. The Governor and all the functionaries of the State and Church were present. Louis Joliet, who afterwards accompanied Père Marquette to the discovery of the Mississippi, and Pierre de Francheville were among the disputants; while Talon the Intendant, joined in the debate *très bien,* according to the Journal, and speaking like the others in Latin.

It is unreasonable to criticise the course of study in Roman Catholic Colleges of the seventeenth Century by the Canons of education of to-day. Quite independently of the fact that education was conducted by ecclesiastics to whom Latin was a sacred heritage, Latin was the only language of science, in an age where the intercourse between nations of different tongues was so slight that it was a rare thing for a student to possess a knowledge of any modern language save his own.

The course of study was, therefore, exclusively classical till late in the century, as Father Brosnahan in his controversy with President admits. He allows that the twenty-five hours a week, constituting the class work of Jesuit scholars in the 17th century, were practically devoted to the exclusive study of Latin and Greek. As a contrast, in the Georgetown University to-day, little more than half of the student's time is devoted to the classical languages. As therefore purely commercial and utilitarian studies found no place in its curriculum and the training of the Jesuit's college however useful, it may have been in whetting the wits and tongues of students for mastery in the rhetorical competition, which was so important an element in their system, it was hardly well fitted for making engineers or self-reliant colonists. The strict observance of rule; the profound reverence inculcated for authority; the minute introspection preached and practised, into motives and courses of conduct; the close supervision, amounting to espionage, maintained over the pupils at all times; however calculated to restrain them from overt acts of immorality, must have diminished originality in their scholars have weakened their power of initiative and of

independent action, and given them narrow and suspicious views of life, little conducive to effective co-operation with their comrades in the mighty task of winning the wilderness and holding it for France. This is true despite the fact that, as individuals, the French explorers outstripped all others. Where they failed was in combining their forces so as to hold the territories they discovered.

The points of difference between the Seminary and the Jesuit system of education were not great enough to make it easy to account for the decline of the one and the popularity of the other. The professors of the Seminary watched their pupils as sedulously as did the Jesuits; nevertheless the peculiarly artificial training of the Jesuit Father must in some way have created a gap between his pupil and himself, such as did not exist between the healthy, manly son of the habitant, or the independent city lad and the Seminary priests, who still recognize family ties and continued to be an active member of the body social.

A specific cause of Jesuit unpopularity was undoubtedly the wealth of the order, despite the unselfish use to which it was in the main turned. As no revenue accrued from the Jesuit College, education being free, and as a large staff of missionaries was supported by the order, there was some reason for endowing it with considerable property. But the accumulation of real estate by the order became early in the colony's history a subject of criticism. Their interest in the welfare of the Indian was unwarrantably coupled in the popular mind with an arrest in the profits of the fur trade. Most of their large landed estate was acquired by gift from the Crown or the trading company in the 17th century, and consequently the lands confiscated on the death of the last member, Father Casot, in 1800 substantially represent the property owned by the order a century earlier. It consisted of twenty acres in the city of Quebec, and nine acres in the city of Montreal, including the land now occupied by the City Hall and the Court House. In addition the order owned under fiefs and seignorial rights sub-fiefs, and as real estate

held in soccage, 7 seignories in the district of Quebec, 2 seignories and 3 small parcels of land in the district of Three Rivers; and in the district of Montreal, besides the property in the city, the seignory of La Prairie, making in all, as land held under seignorial tenure and otherwise, 953,820, arpents. The revenue from this very large block of land was inconsiderable. The tenants paid insignificant rents, and as the land in those early days seldom changed hands, the *lods et ventes* must have been small.

But whatever the income derived at the period of which we are speaking, the holding by a single religious body of nearly one million acres of the choicest land in the colony must have created in the public mind a measure of the same jealousy as was aroused in Old France against the Church, when it had become owner of about one third of the national domain. In France the irritation, growing out of the exemption of Church property, and of the estates of the priviledged classes from taxation, at a time when taxes were pressing with dire severity on the body of the nation, was one of the main causes of the Revolution. In Canada, where direct taxes for support of the state were never levied, discontent on that score was unknown; but even if the Jesuits did not share in the tithes collected from their tenants for the support of the secular clergy, it must have seemed to the *habitants* unjust to pay any officers of the Church with regular or secular clergy, both rent and tithes on the same farm, even though the rent was in payment for land and tithes in support of the Church.

(*From Williams' History of Canada*):—

"The last college building, opened for study less than twenty years before the conquest, covered, with its court, more than an acre. Four stories rose from Fabrique Street, and two fronted on the large gardens and play grounds, which extended to Ann Street. In the early days there stretched across St. Stanislas Street, extending to the Esplanade Hill, a grove of forest trees which the old maps called "The Jesuits

Woods." The Church jutted from the Northwest angle of the front, and faced the market place and the cathedral. It had formed part of the older college, its commencement dating back to 1666, and, prior to its completion, service was held in a chapel in the northwest corner of the old main building itself."

"The original College, and the Church as originally built, must have possessed even less pretensions to architectural beauty than the ungainly structure only recently torn down. Lahontan, in 1684, was charmed with the college and its beautifully kept gardens and ice houses, but Charlevoix, himself a Jesuit, describes the College in 1720 in most derogatory terms in one of his letters to Madame la Duchesse de Lesdiguières. He tells her that "she has doubtless read in the *Relations* of the beauty of the buildings. This was comparatively true when the town was a confused group of Frenchmen's huts and Indian hovels. Then the College and Fort, being the only stone structures, cut some figure (*faisait quelque figure*), and by contrast struck the early traveler as being fine buildings; and succeeding travelers, as is their wont, simply repeated the glowing descriptions. But now that the Indian cabins have disappeared, and the French huts have been transformed into respectable stone houses, the college, which is falling into ruins, and whose courtyard is as filthy as a stable yard, actually disfigures the town. Moreover, when it was built, the river and harbor could be seen from its upper windows; but when the Cathedral and Seminary shut out the glorious view, the market place supplied a poor substitute in the way of scenery." The account of the Church, with its wooden floor, through whose open boards the wind whistled with icy blast in winter, is equally unpleasing. In a note, however, the author tells us that, in the interval between the date of his visit in 1720 and the publication of his book in 1744, the college had been partially rebuilt, and had been made really beautiful, *fort beau,* of which complimentary statement the present generation, which has seen its walls razed, can judge for itself.

Despite the educational advantages which the Col-

lege offered it so declined that at the date of the Conquest there were only nine members of the order, including two missionaries, in Canada. The College and Church suffered seriously from the bombardment, but the Fathers returned to their restored quarters, reopened their classes in 1761 and carried on their work, when their brethren in Louisiana were banished in conformity with the decree of 1762, abolishing the order in France and the colonies. The British General refused to allow the members of the Jesuits in Canada to be replaced by novices; but the closing of the classical course in 1768 would seem to have been due, not so much to the reduced number of the teaching staff, as to decline in the number of students of the higher grades. This diminution may be accounted for by the emigration of so many of the wealthy class ofter the Conquest; but it was more probably due to the growing popularity of the Seminary, and the increasing suspicion of the covert influences of the educational system of the Jesuits, a suspicion which expressed itself in the almost universal suppression of the order before the century closed. But though the College classes were closed, the Jesuits taught a primary school within the College walls till 1776.

The Seminary, as created and constituted by Bishop Laval in 1663 for the training of the Canadian Clergy, is now known as the *Grand Séminaire;* its functions are still what they were at first, the giving of a theological education, and its professors confine their teaching to theological subjects.

The first impulse towards the establishment of the Little Seminary, (*Le Petit Séminaire*) came from France, when Colbert communicated to the Bishop the King's earnest desire that the Christian Indians should be Frenchified, and his opinion that this could best be done by teaching the Indian boys the French language and French manners. The most Christian King was liberal in his theories and his advice, but stingy when asked to pay for carrying them into practice. The Jesuits had essayed in vain to civilize and denationalize the Indians more than 30 years before and they wisely determined not to attempt the experiment again.

Whether Bishop Laval believed or not in the possibility of success it matters not. The King had commanded, and like a loyal old noble he obeyed, and opened the *Petit Séminaire* on October 9th, 1668, with 8 French and 6 Hurons pupils. The number of the former grew, that of the latter declined, till, in 1673, the last one was removed by its parents.

The Church draws a distinction between education and instruction. As an educator it exercises, in its educational establishments, constant supervision over its youth: it studies the idiosyncrasies of each of its younger pupils, with the view to repressing evil, and fostering virtuous tendencies as much with the object of directing their intellectual development. In its seminaries, and even in the universities under its control, a much stricter watch is kept over the pupils and much less latitude of action and of study is allowed to them, than in Protestant schools and colleges.

It was quite consistant therefore with this distinction, that the Theological students of the *Grand Séminaire*, and the advanced pupils of the *Petit Séminaire* should till the Conquest, when the Jesuit College was thoroughly equipped with a teaching staff, be entrusted to the Jesuits for their instruction in secular learning.

But the Seminary was entrusted by Bishop Laval with other duties, and endowed with other prorogatives, than those of a teaching body. In order to reduce the clergy to more absolute dependence, and to regulate their remuneration more equitably, the institution from which they received their education was made the administrator of the tithes, which the King permitted to be imposed for their support. The Bishop hoped thus to bind them to their Alma Mater by ties of self interest as well as of affection. In making himself and his successors the supreme medium of ecclesiastical patronage within the diocese, he imitated, he claimed, the example of the primitive Church, but he had a more recent, and less ambiguous model in the constitution of the order of the Jesuits.

Also, with a view of securing uniformity in the

Church he ordained that the Cathedral Chapter should be selected from the priests of the Seminary, and that, subject to the will of himself and his successors, the Seminary should control both the appointment, and the recall of the parish priests of the diocese.

In this, as in all his episcopal conduct, he acted on the suggestion of the propaganda, which replied to the inquiry of the nuncio, as to the influence the bestowal by the Bishop of the revenue of the Abbey of Maubec, would have on the Church of Canada, that "though the Gallican Church may have certain privileges, there is no need to extend to Canada.*

Such as it was and is, the Seminary, including the Great and Little has endeared itself to every priestly student educated within its walls in a manner to which no parallel can be found in any Protestant institution of either secular or theological learning. Its power to remove the curé, and its administration of the tithes became, it is true the subject of bitter controversy in the days of Bishop Saint Vallier but when these grievances were removed by relieving it of those special functions it retained in all essential particulars the form given to it by its founder. The spirit he inspired into it has survived, and it has preserved certain university features which make it almost a unique model, well worthy of study by those who regard the associations of college life, and their survival in after years, as among the most desirable results of college education.

Bishop Laval had received an indelible impression from M. de Bernières during his residence in the Hermitage of Caen, and he aimed at perpetuating in his

* The Abbé Gosselin says that the King renounced for ever the right of nomination to the Abbey of Maubec, the Abbetal of which the Bishop enjoyed: in consideration of which renunciation by the King, the Pope accorded the King the right of nomination to the Bishopric of Quebec. But by a special change in the Bull creating the diocese of Quebec, it was made immediately dependent on the Holy See. The King of France had insisted that it be dependent on the Archiepiscopal See of Rouen. This pretension the Pope opposed, and he fortunately carried his point, for after the conquest any such relations between the See of Quebec, and the Archiepiscopal provinces of Normandy, and Brittany might have created political complications, from which the New Regime was relieved through the complete dependence on Rome of the See of Quebec.

Seminary some of the features of that peaceful retreat. His intentions as founder of the latter institution were expressed in the following regulations:

First.—All priests must submit to the control of the Seminary under the direction of the Bishop.

Second.—They must not regard themselves as owners of the allowances assigned them for their subsistance, and as a recognition of their dependence they must render an account year by year of their expenses. (These two rules were abrogated by Bishop Saint Vallier, when the curés became fixed parish priests, under the rule of the Bishop.)

Third.—They must lead so blameless a life that none need ever be removed for misconduct.

Fourth.—To sustain their spiritual power they must once a year go into retreat at the Seminary. During this absence from their charge the Seminary will find a substitute to fill their places.

Fifth.—The Seminary will continue to regard them as children of the home, where they will be received and treated with kindness, whenever they come to Quebec ill or on business.

Sixth.—The Seminary will provide for their wants in sickness and health, and make no distinction in the hospitality it offers, be the rank of the ecclesiastic who seeks it what it may.

Seventh.—To encourage and console its priests, when absent, a regular correspondence, couched in kindly terms, will be maintained with each of them.

Eight.—And when from age, hardship, or infirmity they are unfit for further work, they will find in the Seminary a home till death releases them, and afterwards their old friends, who are left behind, will pray for the repose of their souls.

The Seminary of Quebec has remained the cornerstone of the Roman Catholic Church of Canada. The priest still returns to it as to his home, and the provision to keep up systematic correspondence with the Bishop is maintained. In the Bishop's Palace there

is a large library of bound volumes of Manuscript, consisting in great part of such letters, and containing invaluable records, bearing primarily on ecclesiastical affairs, but incidentally on the social and political history of New France during the past two centuries and a half.

Bishop Laval himself acted up to his own rules. A noble of France, he stripped himself of all he possessed, gave to the Seminary his personal property, the seignories which had been granted him, and the proceeds of the Abbey of Maubec, which had been conferred upon him by the King, and to the day of his death lived an austere but human life—either in the Seminary or at its industrial farm of St. Joachim, on the simple fare of the Seminary priest, taking more than his full share of the drudgery of ecclesiastical duties.

The first Greater Seminary was built of wood on the site of the present Episcopal Palace, forming part of the sixteen acres of land bought from Guillemette Hebert, widow of the old settler Guillaume Couillard. Near by, within a few feet of the principal wing of the present *Petit Séminaire,* was a stone building belonging to Madame Couillard which the Bishop bought and altered for the accommodation of his *Petit Séminaire.**

This was occupied in 1678. That agrees with Villeneuve's plan of the city, made in 1670, as it shows two buildings, one apparently on the site of the present Presbytery. Mad. Couillard's house was occupied by the Bishop and the priests of the Seminary, who were also members of the Cathedral Chapter and the parish priest of the city. The school and boarding quarters were somewhat apart in the northeast corner of the garden. In Franquelin's plan of 1683 both buildings had disappeared, for in 1679, before sailing for Europe, the Bishop laid the foundation stone of a substantial stone building for his Greater Seminary, to replace the wooden structure. This safer and more commodious

* The Abbé Laverdière unearthed the foundations of M. Couillard's house, in 1868.

building joined the Petit Séminaire at right angles, and was opened for occupation on the Bishop's return in 1680.

The buildings for the accommodation of the Greater and the Lesser Seminaries were finally constructed on the plan exhibited by the buildings of to-day; and so substantially was the work done that some of the original walls still stand.

One of the fires which have been the scourge of Quebec broke out in the afternoon of November 15th, 1701, when the pupils and most of the teachers were absent on a holiday at Sillery. The Cathedral was with difficulty saved from the flames, which in three hours reduced the presbytery and the school to ruins. Bishop Laval was confined to bed by illness in his room in the Seminary, but was carried across the Market Place to the Jesuit College, where he and his clergy were hospitably entertained for a month, till quarters were prepared for them in the unfinished Episcopal Palace, which Bishop Saint Vallier had commenced in 1693. Here he remained only till the Seminary was rebuilt, as, notwithstanding his noble lineage and episcopal rank, he objected to living in a palace. Misfortune still pursued the Seminary. During the year following the fire of 1701 the Seminary had been rebuilt and enlarged to its present superficial dimensions, when it was again destroyed by fire. Again the Aged Bishop accepted the kind invitation of the Jesuits, and resided with them for two months till a small room in the porter's lodge, which the fire had spared, was fitted up for him. There he lived in the grandeur of simplicity till death released him in 1708. The Porter's Lodge stood where the Chapel was subsequently built. The old chapel, in which it had been his desire that his remains should rest, had not been rebuilt when he died. But the site of the present chapel is more hallowed by being the scene of his death than it could have been had it merely protected his ashes.

The second disaster seemed to invigorate rather than depress the aged Bishop. Some of the Directors pro-

posed to allow the funds to accumulate before rebuilding—not so the indomitable old man. Navigation had closed. But he at once dispatched M. Joncaire to France, by way of Boston, to carry the deplorable tidings to Monseigneur de Saint Vallier. But neither his own pleading nor Monseigneur's sad tale could wring much money out of the empty pockets of the people, or induce the King to spare a gift of more than 4,000 francs a year till the Seminary should be rebuilt.

The poor Canadians, spurred by the Bishop's courage and the example of self-denial set by himself and the Directors, contributed the balance, wherewith to rebuild the schools on an enlarged scale.

The Seminary possessed substantial resources from the first, but owed most of its available cash to the Bishop's liberality. The revenues of the Abbey of Maubec, conferred on him, were turned over to the Seminary for the support of the Cathedral Chapter and for a century yielded a small revenue. The King made Laval also the Abbot of d'Estrie, but neither he nor the Seminary derived any benefit from it, as the union of the Abbey of d'Estrie to the Bishopric of Quebec was not sanctioned by the Holy See till the time of Bishop Saint Vallier. But Laval secured also for the Seminary the Isle Jésus; the beach and shores of the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles from the Sault au Matelot to the Hotel Dieu; also the Seignory of Beaupré and the Seignory of La Petite Nation above Montreal. His personal property was given on condition that—First, the Seminary support for three months of each year two missionaries among the Indians. (Of this condition the Institution was relieved by the donor in 1699.) Second, that the priests of the Seminary say a low mass daily for the repose of his soul, and those of the departed members of the Seminary of Foreign Missions. Third. that the Seminary support and educate for the priesthood eight pupils to be chosen by the Directors.

The revenues derived from these seignories and French Abbey would not, however, have sufficed to maintain the teaching staff, still less to erect the buildings,

had not the Seminary controlled the tithes, and been the patrons and the bankers of the clergy of the diocese, whether engaged in education or in parochial work. As the population increased, the revenue from fees and board, moderate as the charges were, became a substantial source of income.*

The need of the Catholic University was recognized by the Fathers of the First Provincial Council, held in 1851. Among the various seminaries which might claim the right of originating and conducting it, the choice could lie only between the Seminary of Quebec and that of St. Sulpice in Montreal, which opened its doors under the Abbé Queylus, manned by the able priests from the parent Seminary in Paris, some five or six years before bishop Laval issued his ordinance for the establishment of the Quebec Seminary. The Seminary of Quebec was chosen and it has right loyally fulfilled the trust, having out of its own funds expended in the erection and equipment of a university, which could be called by no other name than Laval, about $300,000. And the standard it has maintained has been worthy of the name it bears.

The Chateau of St. Louis has disappeared; the old fortifications are crumbling; the guns on the Grand Battery have become useless; the Jesuit College. where

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* Till 1730 scholars were boarded, clothed and taught by the Seminary free of charge, but after 1730 the relatives were required to furnish clothes and books. At present the scale of charges is : In the Petit Seminaire, for board, lodging, tuition, $111. Demi pensionnaires, who dine in the Seminary, pay $6. a month. In the Grand Seminaire the annual fee for board, lodging and tuition is $120.

Moreover, in those early days the parish of Quebec, as well as the Cathedral Chapter, was supplied by, and at the cost of, the Seminary, in accordance with the Bishop's original plan. The arrangement survived, not without some misgivings by Bishop Laval's successors, till 1768. In that year the Seminary resigned its cure to the Bishop on acconnt of the growing burden of the charge, both on its staff and on its resources

Bishop Hamel, in his sketch of Laval University in "Canada—an Encyclopædia," says, "The greatest income of the Seminary is a negative one, and consists in the fact that the thirty priests who are employed as professors in the University and in the College give all their time and their energy without remuneration. They are not paid. They have their board with heat and light, and are allowed $10.00 per month for their clothing, mending and washing, and this is all. The Superior of the Seminary, who is de jure the principal of the University, receives no other salary."

highly trained teachers carried out a system of free-tuition, was first devoted to secular uses, then demolished; but the Seminary still stands, projecting the past into the present, and more vigorous and useful than ever. Within its old buildings priests, imbued with its old traditions, and true to its old constitutions, still teach. As a corporation it has kept aloof from politics and its course of study has expanded—so far as the limitations imposed by the Church's regulations would allow—with the growth of human knowledge and the requirements of modern society.

Whether we be of the opinion or not that a system of education, framed by ecclesiastics and superintended by priests, builds up boys into energetic, progressive, independent men, it must be admitted that it makes them gentlemen. Bishop Saint Vallier himself was struck, as even the most casual observer is to-day, by the appropriate behavior of the little Seminarists, who serve as acolytes during the mass. The exquisite grace with which they enter two by two, and after bowing to the altar, salute each other before taking their seats, is a charming exhibition of what careful training can accomplish. The influence is felt throughout life of such acts and gestures of reverence and politeness, and these, repeated generation after generation, become hereditary and leave an indelible impression, of refinement and gentle bearing on the race.

It must not, however, be supposed that complete satisfaction with the management of the Seminary and its funds has always reigned. Its wealth, however benevolently expended, created jealousy. There is a letter from a M. de la Marche, a nephew of M. Boucher of Three Rivers, to Count Pontchartrain, the French Colonial Minister, complaining of the cupidity of the Seminary, as shown by the wealth it had accumulated in lands and houses, and the miserable pittances doled out to the poor curés; also of the preference shown to its own infirm students when incapacitated for work—all of which charges were partially true, without being at all unanswerable.

While Bishop Laval was not so prescient as to depart from the standards and systems of primary and classical education prevalent in his day and long afterwards, he did recognize the need of a technical school, in which those who showed no aptitude for purely intellectual pursuits could learn a trade. The experiment of such a training grew out of his experience at the Seminary, where he soon found that there existed youths whose natural bent was toward any other occupation than the priesthood, and who would be more useful to society as farmers or mechanics. To meet this want he established a branch of the Seminary under the towering cliff of Cap Tourmente, at the Grande Ferme de Saint Joachim, where an elementary literary education and some instruction in practical and theoretical agriculture and the manual trades were given.* Bishop Saint Vallier, with the laudable intention of enlarging the scope and usefulness of the Farm School, introduced into the course of study a classical element; but it was soon found to be foreign to the purposes of the Institution, as well as uncongenial to its pupils, and it was abandoned. When Bishop Laval's controversy with his successor was at its heighth, in 1691, not wishing to embarrass him by his presence in Quebec, he took up his abode at Saint Joachim, and the farm became so dear to him that in 1693 he founded six scholarships under the following conditions, which express clearly his intentions in establishing the school, and bespeak his good sound common sense. "The six children must be natives, of good habits and fit for work. Their choice is to rest with the Superior and Directors. They are to be fed, clad and trained to habits of politeness and piety, instructed in reading and writing, drilled to do honest work, and in the practice of the trade by which they expect to gain their livelihood, till they attain the age of eighteen, when they should be able to provide for themselves."

Eigth years afterwards M. Soumande—a priest of

* The Technical School at Saint Joachim has long been closed, but the Seminary farm is still cultivated.

the Seminary and Director of the Farm—created three more scholarships, and endowed the school with 8,000 francs, to be devoted to the salary of a master who should train the three youths as school teachers.

In addition therefore, to founding a Seminary, which has grown into one of the great Continental Universities, the Bishop showed his appreciation of the value of technical instruction and training by establishing, with the assistance of his able directors, the Grande Ferme des Maizerets. And as he doubtless approved the action of Mons. Soumande, who added a normal school to the technical department, this remarkable man rounded up his storm tossed career by founding institutions which forestalled the three great divisions of modern educational work,—the College for intellectual and professional training, the technical institute and the Normal School

The "Catalogue des Officiers et des Elèves du Séminaire de Québec" for 1851-1852, which was the year in which the First Provincial Council met and the Laval University was virtually founded, gives as the governing body of the Seminary,—a Superior, the retiring Superior, eight Directors and four assistant Priests. As the staff of the Grand Séminaire there were the Director and two professors, one of Moral Theology and the Holy Scriptures, and one of Dogmatic Theology. Twenty-eight students of theology were enrolled. The faculty of the Petit Séminaire comprised a Director and Prefect of studies and an assistant, and professors of physics, chemistry, philosophy, natural history and mathematics; eight professors of rhetoric,—one for each of the eight classes. In addition there were teachers of linear drawing, and of oral and instrumental music.

The following interesting explanatory notes and regulations are appended:

ORGANIZATION DU SEMINAIRE

"Le Séminaire de Québec fut fondé en 1663, par Monseigneur François de Laval de Montmorency, premier évêque de Québec. Les membres de ce Séminaire forment une corporation sans aucun rapport de filiation ou de dépendance à l'égard de quelque établissement que ce soit. L'œuvre à laquelle ils s'emploient spécialement est l'éducation de la jeunesse. Ils y travaillent sans autres rémunération que la nourriture et le vêtement, en santé comme en maladie.

L'autorité du Séminaire réside dans le bureau des directeurs dont un est le supérieur, élu pour trois ans et ne pouvant être continué plus de six ans. Les autres principaux officiers sont le procureur, le directeur du Grand Séminaire ou des élèves de théologie, le directeur du Petit Séminaire ou Collège, et l'économe. Depuis plusieurs années, il a été nécessaire d'ajouter un assistant-procureur et au Petit Séminaire, un assistant-directeur ou un préfect des études. Excepté les procureurs, tous les membres du Séminaire, tant directeurs qu'associés ou agrégés, sont ordinairement occupés à l'enseignement, soit de la théologie, soit des sciences, soit des humanités. Plusieurs prêtres non agrégés sont aussi employés à l'enseignement. Ceux-ci reçoivent, outre la nourriture et le logement, un modique honoraire.

ENSEIGNEMENT DU GRAND SÉMINAIRE

L'enseignement du Grand Séminaire est confié à trois ou quatre professeurs. Il renferme la théologie dogmatique, la théologie morale, l'Ecriture-Sainte et les autres connaissances que demande l'exercice du saint ministère. Le cours est ordinairement de trois ans. Les élèves sont tous pensionnaires et porte l'habit ecclésiastique. Le prix de la pension est de £20 courant pour l'année scolaire.

SEMINARY
R. Pavaux

PROGRAMME D'ETUDES, ENSEIGNEMENT, ETC. DU PETIT SEMINAIRE

CLASSES D'ETUDES

Classe Préparatoire.—Grammaire Française de Lhomond.—Exercices français. Histoire Sainte. Notions préliminaires de géographie.

En anglais: Epellation, lecture, traduction du Catholic school-book, avec analyses et remarques sur la grammaire—Commencement d'arithmétique.

Note.—Vers le milieu de novembre, cette classe se partage en deux ordres: les plus avancés commencent alors la grammaire latine, et suivent à peu près les mêmes matières que la Septième, à laquelle ils se réunissent après la vacance dans la Sixième.

Septième.—Grammaire française de Lhomond.—Exercices français.—Eléments de la grammaire latine du même et première partie de la Syntaxe.—Thèmes, versions, traduction de l'Epitome Historiæ Sacræ, avec analyses et cahiers de bon français, etc.—Histoire sainte. Notions préliminaires de géographie.

En anglais, comme dans la classe préparatoire.

Sixième.—Eléments de la grammaire latine revus et syntax continuée.—Grammaire française de Chapsal.—De Viris et Phèdre avec analyses et traductions écrites. —Thèmes, versions, exercises français.—Géographie de l'Europe.—Arithmétique.—Abrégé de Mythologie, etc.

En anglais: Traduction de Murray's Introduction, avec analyses; thèmes et versions.

Cinquième.—Syntaxe latine revue; Méthode commencée.—Syntaxe française de Chapsal.—Cornélius, César, Ovide et Eglogues de Virgile.—Histoire ancienne.—Géographie de l'Asie.—Arithmétique et tenue des livres en partie simples.

En anglais: Lennie's grammar; traduction de Cornélius; thèmes et versions.

Quatrième.—Méthode latine revue et continuée.—Prosodie latine.—Grammaire grecque de Burnouf commencée.—César, Quinte-Curce ou Salluste et Virgile.—Fables d'Ésope.—Histoire romaine.—Géographie de l'Afrique et de l'Océanie.—Arithmétique.—Thèmes, version latines et grecques, vers latins.

En anglais: Modern history, traduction de César avec cahiers de traduction écrite; thèmes et versions.

Troisième.—Prosodie latine revue.—Grammaire grecque revue et continuée. Salluste ou Quinte-Curce, Virgile, Cicéron, Actes des Apôtres et dialogue de Lucien. —Arithmétique, notions élémentaires de Toisé et de Géométrie.—Géographie de l'Amérique.—Art épistolaire; lettre et narrations sur des sujets faciles, etc.

En anglais: Modern history; traduction de Salluste avec cahiers; thèmes et versions.

Seconde.—Principes de littérature avec de nombreux exemples tirés des meilleurs auteurs.—Histoire du Canada.—Virgile, Cicéron, Horace, Tite-Live ou Tacite, Xénophon.—Odyssée.—Thèmes, versions latines et grecques, vers latins, compositions françaises et latines lettres, etc.—Arithmétique.

En anglais: Modern history; traduction de Cicéron avec cahiers; thèmes et versions.

Rhétorique.—Préceptes de l'éloquence avec des exemples extraits des plus grands orateurs.—Cicéron, Horace, Homère, Conciones latinæ,.—Démonsthènes.—Thèmes, versions latines et grecques, compositions françaises et latines, vers latins.—Algèbre commencée.

En anglais:Modern history; traduction de Cicéron avec cahiers; thèmes et versions.

Philosophie.—(Classe Junior.)—Logique, Métaphsique,; dissertations, analyses raisonnées, etc.—Algèbre revue et continuée.—Géométrie.—Trigonométrie rectiligne et sphérique. Application de l'algèbre à la géométrie.—Sections coniques.—Courbes en général.—Eléments du calcul différentiel et du calcul intégral.—Diverses applications à l'arpentage, à la perspective, à l'astronomie, à la navigation, etc.—Tenue des livres en parties doubles.—Architecture militaire.

(Classe Senior.)—Morale.—Physique.—Chimie.—Expériences, applications aux arts et métiers, à l'agriculture, etc. Astronomie.—Histoire naturelle.— Architecture civile.

Musique.—Tous les élèves pensionnaires reçoivent deux leçons de musique vocale par semaine. On donne durant les récréations, des leçons de musique instrumentale à ceux des élèves qui veulent en prendre.

Dessin.—Les leçons de dessin ne sont point obligées. Il s'en donne une deux heures chaque semaine. Le Séminaire paie une partie du salaire des maîtres de dessin et de musique.

INSTRUCTION RELIGIEUSE

Les élèves sont partagés en cinq classes sous le rapport de l'enseignement de la religion. On donne à chacune d'elles au moins une instruction spéciale d'une heure par semaine. Les premières classes sont confiées à des prêtres de la maison.*

ADMISSION DES ÉLÈVES

1. Pour être admis dans la classe élémentaire, il suffit absolument qu'un élève sache lire et écrire; presque tous néanmoins ont un petit commencement de grammaire française, d'anglais et d'arithmétique.

2. Pour entrer en Septième, on exige de plus que l'élève ait appris et pratiqué la grammaire française de Lhomond. On désire de plus qu'il ait aussi commencé l'histoire sainte.

3. On peut juger, par les matières indiquées dans le programme ci-dessus, des connaissances requises pour entrer dans les autres classes. En général, l'élève qui commence ses études sous un maître privé, fera bien de s'appliquer aux thèmes et aux traductions avec analyse, et de devancer d'un semestre au moins la classe ou il espère être admis.

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* Les élèves protestants n'assistent point à ces instructions.

EXTRAITS DU REGLEMENT DES PENSIONNAIRES

DEVOIRS RELIGIEUX

Les pensionnaires assistent aux offices de la Cathédrale les dimanches, les fêtes d'obligation, les derniers jours de la semaine sainte et dans quelque autres circonstances. Dans l'avant midi, ils doivent faire, chaque jour, la prière du matin, entendre une messe basse et donner quelques minutes à la prière et à la récollection immédiatement avant le dîner; dans l'après midi, réciter le chapelet, écouter une lecture de piété pendant un quart d'heure et enfin faire la prière du soir. De plus, ils commencent et finissent tous les exercices (classes, études, etc.,) par une courte prière. Ils sont tenus de se confesser tous les quinze jours.

COMMUNICATION DES PENSIONNAIRES AVEC LE DEHORS

Les élèves ne reçoivent les visites des personnes du dehors qu'au parloir, et avec la permission d'un maître. Ils peuvent recevoir celles de leur parents tous les jours durant les recréations, celle du soir exceptée. Pour les personnes qui n'ont avec eux que des rapports de connaissance ou d'amitié, ils ne peuvent recevoir leurs visites que les dimanches et les fêtes d'obligation, durant la demi-heure qui suit immédiatement l'office du soir de la cathédrale.

Les élèves ne sortent jamais seuls du collège pour aller se promener, à moins que ce ne soit chez leurs parents (père ou mère, ou ceux qui les représentent,) ce qui leur est quelquefois accordé les jours de congé. Quand ils sortent pour affaires, ils ne doivent pas aller ailleurs qu'au lieu où on leur a permis d'aller. Hors des classes, les pensionnaires n'ont aucun rapport avec les externes.

Les pensionnaires n'écrivent point de lettres et n'ouvrent point celles qu'ils recoivent, sans la permission

du directeur, qui peut toujours prendre connaissance du contenu de ces lettres lorsqu'il le juge à propos.

Les pensionnaires ne peuvent rien recevoir du dehors pour leur nourriture au collège: les fruits en nature sont seuls exceptés de cette règle.

MOUVEMENTS JOURNALIERS

Avant Midi

De cinq heures et demie à six heures, le lever, l'habillement et la prière.

De six heures à sept heures, l'étude.

De sept heures à sept heures et demie, le déjeuner et la recréation.

A sept heures et demie, la messe.

De huit heures à dix heures, la classe.

Après la classe, un quart d'heure de récréation.

De dix heures et un quart à onze heures et un quart, l'étude suivie de quelques minutes de prière et d'examen.

A onze heures et demie, le diner.

Après Midi

Après le dîner, la récréation jusqu'à une heure.

D'une heure à deux heures, l'étude.

De deux heures à quatre heures, la classe.

De quatre heures à quatre heures et demie, la collation et la récréation.

De quatre heures et demie à six heures, l'étude.

De six heures à six heures et demie, le chapelet et une lecture de piété.

De six heures et demie à huit heures, le souper et la récréation.

De huit heures à neuf heures, la prière du soir et l'étude.

Remarques.—1. En été, le lever a lieu à cinq heures, et l'étude commence à cinq heures et demie, pour finir à sept. 2. Les plus jeunes élèves se couchent immédiatement après la prière du soir, durant toute l'année.

UNIFORME, ETC.

Les pensionnaires ne doivent jamais paraître hors des dortoirs sans l'habit du collège, qui consiste en un capot de drap bleu avec nervures blanches, et une ceinture de laine verte. Lorsqu'ils sortent du Séminaire, ils doivent de plus être couverts d'une casquette de même étoffe et de même couleur que le capot, portant ausi une nervure blanche. En hiver, le bas de la casquette est revêtu d'une bande d'astracan.

Les élèves doivent être pourvus d'habits et de linge de corps et autre en quantité suffisante pour être toujours dans un état de propreté convenable. Les effets que leurs parents doivent leurs fournir, outre les habits, sont :—pour le dortoir, une valise ou coffre propre à contenir leur linge et leurs habits, un baudet, un matelas, un traversin, un ou deux oreillers, des draps, des couvertures, un couvre-pieds, des taies d'oreillers, une couple de bonnets, des serviettes, un bassin, un miroir, du savon, un ou deux peignes, du noir et des brosses pour les souliers, des brosses pour les habits; pour le réfectoire, des serviettes, un gobelet, un couteau, une fourchette et une cuiller.

Tous les effets des élèves doivent être marqués de manière à pouvoir être reconnus certainement; autant qu'il est possible, le nom de l'élève doit s'y lire en toute lettres.

CONGÉS ET VACANCES

Les classes vaquent les jours suivants :—

1. Les dimanches, les fêtes d'obligation et les trois derniers jours de la semaine sainte. Ces jours-là, il y a ordinairement autant d'étude que le permet l'assistance aux offices.

2. Une fois par semaine, ordinairement le jeudi, seulement l'après midi depuis le premier d'octobre jusqu'au 1er. de mai, et toute la journée le reste de l'année.

3. Le 2 ou le 3 de janvier, le jour de la fête de Mgr. l'Archevêque, le jour de l'anniversaire de sa consécration, et enfin celui de la fête de M. le Supérieur du Séminaire.

Il n'y a jamais plus d'un grand congé par semaine. L'étude du soir a lieu les jours de congé, comme à l'ordinaire, et les jours de grand congé, il y a le matin, une étude d'une heure. Cependant ces études s'omettent lorsque les élèves vont à la campagne.

Les vacances commencent, chaque année, vers la mi-juillet, et finissent avec le mois d'août.

SOMMES À PAYER PAR LES PENSIONNAIRES

Dépenses obligées

	£.	s.	d.
Pour la pension, (on ne fait point de déduction pour les absences de moins de huit jours....	17	10	0

Dépenses non obligées

1. Pour l'usage des livres de la bibliothèque....	0	5	0
2. Pour les leçons de musique instrumentale, une somme qui n'excède pas,....	1	10	0
3. Pour les leçons de dessin,....	0	5	0

Le Séminaire ne fournit ni, livres, ni papier, ni encre pour les classes.

EXTRAITS DU REGLEMENT DES EXTERNES

On n'admet généralement comme externes que les jeunes gens de la ville. Pour les autres, ils ne sont admis que rarement, et encore faut-il qu'ils aient en ville de proche parents qui puissent le loger chez eux et surveiller leur conduite. Les externes catholiques sont tenus d'assister aux offices de leur paroisse les dimanches et les fêtes d'obligation, et aussi à tout office sur semaine auquel les pensionnaires ont coutume d'assister. Ils doivent entendre la messe qui se dit au Séminaire, tous les jours, immédiatement avant la classe du matin, assister aux instructions religieuses, et enfin donner un billet de confession le quinze de chaque mois. Les externes (ceux de la classe préparatoire exceptés), portent le même uniforme que les pensionnaires; et il leur est défendu de sortir sans l'avoir.

Ils ne doivent pas s'absenter de la classe, des offices, etc., sans la permission du directeur. Si la maladie, ou une cause imprévue, les empêchent d'obtenir cette permission, ils sont obligés de présenter à leur retour un billet de leurs parents qui fasse connaître la cause de leur absence.

Les externes ne peuvent sortir le soir, après le jour tombé, qu'en compagnie de leurs parents, ou pour quelque service que ceux-ci exigeraient d'eux."

FIN.

LAVAL UNIVERSITY

The Catalogue of 1848-49 gives the names of students who have terminated their course of study at the Petit Séminaire from the foundation of the institution till 1848, with the professions, when known, which they followed in after life.

From 1674 to 1685 there were fourteen graduates, of whom eight became secular priests, and one a Recollet friar. The name of François de Laval occurs among those whose profession is not indicated. During the closing years of the Century few graduated, one was registered in 1697, but none in 1698 and 1699, and one only in 1700. But in 1701 four priests and five other students were turned out. The number fell off towards the close of the French domination, two appearing for 1755, two for 1756 and none subsequently till 1762. But from 1769, with few exceptions, the lists are full untill the close of the Century, when they again shrink, but the following note appended to the list of students partially explains this decrease.

Note.—La liste qui précède a été faite d'après des registres dans lesquels on inscrit chaque année les noms des élèves de toutes les classes du Petit Séminaire; mais, comme il a été impossible de retrouver toute la suite de ces registres, il est à présumer que plusieurs noms ont été omis, surtout depuis 1794 jusqu'en 1823. Ces omissions seront réparrées une autre année, si ceux qui les remarqueront veulent bien les faires connaître.

LAVAL UNIVERSITY

The University of Laval, as the successor to the Grand et Petit Séminaires embodies in its curriculum the studies in the Departments of the Humanities and Science, which were taught previously in the Little Seminary, and the Theological courses of the Grand Séminaire but has added to them faculties of Medicine and Law. The following extract from its Annuaire explains its relations to the Seminary, and the extension of its activities to a branch college in Montreal.

L'UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL

L'Université Laval a été fondé en 1852, par le Séminaire de Québec. La Charte royale, qui lui a été accordée par S. M. la Reine Victoria, a été signée à Westminster, le 8 décembre 1852.

Par la Bulle Inter varias sollicitudines du 15 avril 1876, le Souverain Pontife Pie IX, de glorieuses et sainte mémoire, a donné à l'Université Laval son complément en lui accordant l'érection canonique solennelle avec les privileges les plus étendus.

En vertu de cette Bulle, l'Université a pour protecteur à Rome, auprès du Saint Siège, Son Eminence le Cardinal Préfet de la Propagande, La haute surveillance de la doctrine et de la discipline, c'est-à-dire, de la foi et des mœurs, est dévolue à un Conseil Supérieur, composé de NN. SS. les Archevêques et Evêques de la Province de Quebec, sous la présidence de Sa Grandeur Mgr. l'Archevêque de Québec, nommé lui-même Chancelier Apostolique de l'Université.

En vertu de la Charte royale, le Visiteur de l'Université Laval est toujours l'Archevêque catholique de Québec, qui a droit de veto sur tous les réglements et sur toutes les nominations. Le Supérieur du Séminaire de Québec est de droit le Recteur de l'Université. Le Conseil de l'Université se compose des Directeurs du Séminaire de Québec et des trois plus anciens professeurs titulaires ordinaires de chacune des facultés.

Il y a quatre facultés, qui sont les facultés de Théologie, de Droit, de Médecine et des Arts. Les professeurs de la faculté de Théologie sont nommés par le Visiteur. Tous les autres sont nommés par le Conseil. Les degrés auxquels peuvent arriver les élèves, dans chacune des facultés, sont ceux de Bachelier, de Maître ou Licencié, et de Docteur. La bonne conduite est une condition essentielle pour l'obtention des degrés.

L'Université Laval, dès le principe, s'est placé sous la protection spéciale de la Très Sainte Vierge Marie et a choisi pour sa fête patronale le fête de l'Imaculée

Conception. Le 20 juin 1873, l'Université s'est consacrée solennellement au Sacré-Cœur de Jésus.

Conformément à une décision de la S. C. de la Propagande, en date du 1er février 1876, qui a été publiée dans l'Annuaire de l'année 1877-78, une extension des facultés de l'Université Laval a été en faveur de Montréal, dont l'Archevêque a été nommé Vice-Chancelier Apostolique de l'Université. On pourra voir, par la lecture du bref, *Jamdudum* du 2 février 1899, publié dans l'Annuaire de 1899-00, les modifications importantes qui ont été faites à la décision du 1er février 1876, concernant la Succursale de Montréal. Comme les sections des facultés de Montréal ont reçu, en vertu de ce bref, la quasi indépendance pratique, tout ce qui va suivre ne regardera que l'organization de l'Université de Québec.

APPENDIX

LETTER OF BISHOP LAVAL CREATING THE QUEBEC SEMINARY, EDICT OF THE KING CONFIRMING THE SAME

ÉTABLISSEMENT DU SÉMINAIRE DE QUÉBEC PAR MONSEIGNEUR L'ÉVÊQUE DE PÉTRÉE

François, par la grâce de Dieu et du saint siège, évêque de Pétrée, vicaire apostolique en Canada, dit la Nouvelle-France, nommé par le Roy, premier évêque du dit pays, lorsqu'il aura plû à notre saint Père le Pape y érigé un évêché, à tous ceux qui présentes lettres verront, salut en Notre Seigneur.

Les saints conciles, et celui de trente particulièrement, pour remettre effacement la discipline ecclésiastique dans la première vigueur, n'ont rien trouvé de plus utile que d'ordonner le rétablissement de l'usage ancien des séminaires, où l'on instrusoit les clercs dans les vertus et les sciences convenables à leur état. L'excellence de ce décret s'est fait voir par une expérience toute sensible, puisque le grand St. Charles Borromée qui l'exécuta le premier, bientôt après ce concile, et plusieurs évêques qui ont suivi son example ont commencé de redonner au clergé, sa première splendeur, particulièrement en France; ce moyen si efficace pour réformer la conduite ecclésiastique dans les lieux où elle s'était affaiblie, nous à fait juger qu'ils ne serait pas moins utile pour l'introduire où elle n'est pas encore, qu'il l'a été dans les premiers siècles du Christianisme; à ces causes considérant qu'il a plû à la divine providence nous charger de l'église naissante du Canada dit la

Nouvelle-France; et qu'il est d'une extrême importance dans ce commencement de donner au clergé la meilleure forme qui se pourra pour perfectionner des ouvriers, et les rendre capable de cultiver cette nouvelle vigne du Seigneur, en vertu de l'autorité qui nous a été commise, nous avons érigé et nous érigeons dès à présent et à perpétuité, un séminaire pour servir de clergé à cette nouvelle église, qui sera conduit et gouverné par les supérieurs que nous ou les successeurs évêques de Nouvelle-France y établiront, en suivant les réglements que nous dresserons à cet effet dans lequel on élèvera et formera les jeunes clercs qui paraîtront propres au service de Dieu, et auxquels, à cette fin, l'on enseignera la manière de bien administrer les sacrements, la méthode de cathéchiser et prêcher apostoliquement, la théologie, morale, les cérémonies, le plain chant grégorien, et autres choses appartenant aux devoirs d'un bon ecclésiastique et en outre afin que l'on puisse dans le dit séminaire, et clergé former un chapitre qui soit composé d'ecclésiastiques du dit Séminaire, chosis par nous et les évêques du dit pays qui succéderont, lorsque le roi aura eu la bonté de la fonder, ou que le dit Séminaire de soi, aura le moyen de fournir à cet établissement par la bénédiction que Dieu y aura donné, nous désirons que ce soit une continuelle école de vertu et un lieu de réserve, d'où nous puissions tirer des sujets pieux et capables pour les envoyer à toutes rencontres, et au besoin dans les paroisses, et tous autres lieux du dit pays, afin d'y faire les fonctions curiales, et autres auxquelles ils auront été destinés, et les retirer des mêmes paroisses et fonctions quand on le jugera à propos, nous réservant pour toujours et aux successeurs évêques du dit pays, comme aussi au dit Séminaire par nos ordres, et les dits évêques le pouvoir de révoquer tous les ecclésiastiques qui seront départis et dêlégués dans les paroisses et autres lieux, toutefois et quantes qu'il sera jugé nécessaire, sans qu'on puisse être titulaire, et attaché particulièrement à une paroisse, voulant au contraire qu'ils soient de plein droit, amovibles, révocables et destituables à la volonté des évêques et du Séminaire par leurs ordres, conformément à la sainte

pratique des premiers siècles suivie et conservée encore à présent en plusieurs diocèses de ce royaume; et d'autant qu'il est absolument nécessaire de pourvoir le dit séminaire et clergé d'un revenu capable de soutenir les charges et les dépenses qu'il sera obligé de faire, nous lui avons appliqué et appliquons, affecté et affectons dès à présent, et pour toujours toutes les dixmes de quelque nature qu'elles soient, en en la manière qu'elles seront levées dans toutes les paroisses et lieux du dit pays pour être possédés en commun et administrées par le dit séminaire suivant nos ordres et sous notre autorité, et des successeurs évêques du pays, à condition qu'il fournira la subsistence et de tous les ecclésiastiques qui seront délégués dans les paroisses et autres endroits du dit pays, et qui seront toujours amovibles et révocables au gré des dits évêques et séminaire par leurs ordres; qu'il entretiendra tous les dits ouvriers évangéliques, tant en santé qu'en maladie, soit dans leurs fonctions, soit dans la communauté, lorsqu'ils y seront rappelés; qu'il fera les frais de leurs voyages, quand on en tirera de France, où qu'ils y retourneront, et toutes ces choses suivant la taxe qui sera faite par nous et les successeurs évêques du dit pays, pour obvier aux contestations et aux désordres que le manque de régle y pourrait mettre.

Et comme il est nécessaire de bâtir plusieurs églises pour faire le service divin, et pour la commodité des fidèles, nous ordonnons (sans préjudice néanmoins de l'obligation que les peuples de chaque paroisse ont de fournir à la bâtisse des dites églises,) qu'après que le dit séminaire aura fourni toutes les dépenses annuelles, ce que pourra rester de son revenue, sera employé à la construction des églises, en aumônes et en autre bonnes œuvres pour la gloire de Dieu, et pour l'utilité de l'église, selon les ordres de l'évêque, sans que toute fois, nous ni les successeurs évêques du dit pays, en puissions jamais appliquer quoique ce soit à nos usages particuliers, nous ôtant même et aux dits évêques la faculté de pouvoir aliéner aucun fonds du dit séminaire et clergé en cas de nécessité, sans l'exprès consentement de quatre personnes du corps du dit séminaire et clergé,

savoir, le supérieur, les deux assistants et le procureur. En foi de quoi nous avons signé ces présentes, et y avons fait apposer notre sceau.

Donné à Paris, le vingt-sixième du mois de mars, mil six cent soixante et trois.

(Signé) FRANÇOIS
Evêque de Petrée.

APPROBATION DU ROI POUR L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DU SÉMINAIRE DE QUÉBEC

LOUIS, *par la grâce de Dieu, roi de France et de Navarre, à tous présents et à venir, salut.*

La résolution que nous avons prise de rentrer dans le domaine de la Nouvelle-France dite Canada, et d'en prendre un soin plus particulier que jamais pour le soulagement du pays, nous fait embrasser toutes les occasions de lui procurer quelque avantage et sachant bien que le plus grand qu'il puisse recevoir ce sont le moyens de l'instruction spirituelle des habitants et la conversion des sauvages, nous nous portons volontiers à les appuyer et à les favoriser de notre autorité, avec un zèle digne du titre que nous portons de roi très chrétien et de fils ainé de l'église, ainsi sur ce que nous avons appris que le sieur évêque de Petrée, vicaire du Saint Siège Apostolique en toute la Nouvelle-France dite Canada, nommé par nous à l'évêché du dit pays, aussitôt qu'il aura plu à notre Saint-Père le Pape de l'établir, pour s'acquitter pleinement des obligations de son épiscopat et se faire soulager dans ses fonctions, aurait érigé un séminaire d'ecclésiastiques capables de seconder ses pieux desseins pour servir de clergé à cette nouvelle église et dans lequel on pourra fournir un chapitre composés des ecclésiastiques du dit clergé et séminaire, choisis par le dit seigneur de Petrée et les successeurs évêques du dit pays lorsque nous l'aurons fondé, ou que le dit clergé et séminaire de soi aura le moyen de four-

nir au dit établissement, nous avons voulu encourir à cette bonne œuvre, et autoriser par ces présentes l'acte d'établissement qu'il en a fait le vingt-sixième jours de mars de la présente année qu'il nous a supplié d'agréer et confirmer pour son entière et parfaite exécution.

A ces causes sçavoir faisons qu'après avoir examiné en notre conseil le dit acte d'établissement et d'érection du dit séminaire, nous n'y avons rien trouver que d'avantageux à la gloire de Dieu et au bien de nos sujets, qu'à ces fins nous l'avons agrées et agréeons, confirme et confirmons par ces présentes, et en faisant ordonné suivant et au désir du dit acte, que toutes les dixmes, de quelque nature qu'elles puissent être, tant de ce qui nait par le travail des hommes, que de ce que la terre produit d'elle même, se payeront seulement de treize une et seront destinées et affectées irrévocablement pour toujours à la fondation et à l'entretien de ce séminaire et clergé, sans que le dit sieur évêque ni les successeurs évêques du dit pays en puissent disposer en quelque manière que ce soit pour leur usage particulier mais seulement pour les besoins de la dite communauté, après lesquels ce qui restera sera employé à la construction et bâtiment des églises, en aumônes et en d'autres bonne œuvres pour le règlement et utilité de l'église, par les ordres des dits évêques, sans préjudice néanmoins l'obligation que les peuples de chaque paroisse ont de fournir à la bâtisse des dites églises; que si pour fortes considérations il est absolument nécessaire d'aliéner quelque fonds de la dite communauté, le dit sieur évêque ni ses successeurs ne le pourront faire que du consentement des quatre premiers officiers de la dite communauté, savoir, du supérieur, des deux assistants et du procureur, pour en examiner le besoin et souscrire l'aliénation; et pour maintenir tous les ecclésiastiques de ce clergé dans une totale soumision à leur évêque, et remédier à quantité d'inconvénience que produit quelque fois la stabilité des curés, dont le changement ne dépend point des supérieurs. Nous approuvons et voulons que tous ceux qui seront délégués dans les paroisses, églises ou autres lieux en toute la Nouvelle-France pour y faire les fonctions curiales et autres

auxquelles ils auront été destinés, soient amovibles, révocables et destituables, toutes et quante fois que le dit sieur évêque et les successeurs évêques du dit pays le trouveront à propos, conformément à la sainte pratique des premiers siècles dont l'usage se conserve encore en plusieurs diocèses de notre royaume, à la charge que le dit séminaire entretiendra de toutes choses nécessaires les dits ecclèsiastiques, tant en santé qu'en maladie, soit dans les paroisses ou autres lieux où ils seront envoyés, soit dans la communauté lorsqu'ils y seront rappelés et qu'il payera les frais de leurs passages et de leur retour, lorsqu'ils seront tirés de France ou qu'ils y seront envoyés.

Et pour donner un solide fondement à ce séminaire et clergé, dont nous souhaitons la perpétuité et le bon succès pour l'avantage de cette église naissante; nous avons approuvé et approuvons, autorisé et autorisons, rendu et rendons capables de tous effets civiles, comme les autres corps et communautés ecclésiastiques de notre royaume, pour acquérir tous domaines, droits et actions, recevoir toutes donation entre vifs et à cause de morts, testamens, legs et autres dispositions qui seront faites en sa faveur, tant en l'ancienne qu'en la Nouvelle-France, sans payer aucunes finances pour droits d'amortissement et nouveaux acquets, dont nous l'avons déchargé et déchargeons par ces présentes à perpétuité, voulant et attendant de rechef que le dit clergé et sèminaire jouisset de la totalité des dixmes, groses et menues, anciennes et nouvelles, de tous les fruits généralement quelconque et sans aucunes distinction, qui proviendront sur toutes les terres dans le dit pays de la Nouvelle-France ou Canada, aux charges, clauses et conditions portées par son acte d'érection ci-attaché, sous le contre scel de notre chancellerie, sans que le dit sieur de Petrée, et ses successeurs évêques du dit pays puissent prétendre autre part que celle d'être les ordonnateurs de la dispensation qui s'en fera. Si donnons en mandement à nos aimez et féaux conseillers les gens tenant notre conseil souverain à Quebec que se présentes ils fassent lire et enregistrer au greffe de notre dit conseil, et à tous gouverneurs et autres de nos sujets les

faire exécuter selon leur forme et teneur et du contenu en icelles faire jouir le dit séminaire et clergé, faisant cesser tous troubles et empêchements à ce contraire. Car tel est notre plaisir; et afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous avons fait mettre notre scel à ces dites présentes, sauf en autre chose notre droit, et l'autrui en toutes.

Donné à Paris au mois d'avril, l'an de grâce mil six cent soixante-et-trois et de notre règne le vingtième.

(Signé) LOUIS.

Et sur le repli par le roi, Le Tellier, et scellé sur doubles lacs de soie rouge et verte cire verte et contrescellé sur même cire et lacs. Signe: Mezy, François, évêque de Petrée; Rouer de Villeray, Juchereau Laferte, Rouette Dauteuil.

(Signé) PEUVRET,
Greffier.

TRANSACTIONS

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Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC

SESSIONS OF 1905

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QUEBEC
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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
10th JANUARY, 1906

QUEBEC, 10th January, 1906.

The annual general meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was held on Wednesday morning, 10th January, in the Library of the Society, at 10 o'clock. There was a good attendance of members. Major Wood, President, in the Chair.

Those present were, John Hamilton, P. B. Casgrain, George Lampson, S. Lesage, Lt.-Col. Turnbull, Dr. Harper, T. C. Aylwin, Fred. C. Wurtele, K. G. Fraser, W. Clint, Captain Boulton, R.N., James Morgan, A. Robertson, W. S. Bennett, T. A. Piddington, J. Horan.

After reading the minutes of the last meeting, the Recording Secretary, A. Robertson, Esq., submitted the annual report of the Society for the past year.

ANNUAL REPORT

QUEBEC, 10th January, 1906.

To-day, as the senior society in Canada, we enter our 83rd year with the satisfaction of being engaged in work which we are striving to make at least equal to the best achievements of our past career. 1775—that fateful year for both French and English-speaking Canada—is still the main object of our research. In 1903, under the presidency of Sir James LeMoine, a committee was formed to deal with the erection of his-

torical tablets to commemorate the heroic defenders of Quebec, who repulsed the attacks of Montgomery and Arnold. Before the close of 1904, the two splendid bronze shields, for which the Dominion Government made a special grant of $1,250, were in position. We are glad to be able to report that these tablets have been strongly commended by our late and present Patrons, the Earl of Minto and Earl Grey, the latter of whom personally inspected them last summer. They have been welcomed with universal approval in Canada and in other parts of the Empire, and we rejoice to see that they have met with generous recognition by the intelligent public of the United States. In this connection we would add that when the old and well known wooden sign—*Montgomery Fell*—was taken down by a departmental workman, our President, whose action was unanimously approved by the Council, tried to have it repaired at the Society's expense and placed over the exact spot in front of where the barricade had stood. The Government, however, undertook this themselves, and replaced the sign in its old position.

The principal results of our work on 1775, since the erection of the tablets, has been the publication, in the spring of 1905, of verbatim reprints, in a volume entitled "The Blockade of Quebec in 1775-6 by the American Revolutionists" (Les Bostonnais). The contents comprise: 1. The Journal of Thomas Ainslie; 2. The Journal of an unknown Diarist; 3. The Orderly Book of the British Militia at Quebec, 1775-6; and 4. The Nominal Roll of the French Canadian Militia serving at Quebec during the siege. The preface gives a full account of the successful efforts for the erection of the tablets, and is illustrated by photographs specially taken to show the inscriptions both by themselves, on a large scale, as well as in position on the sites once occupied by the barricades at Près-de-Ville and Sault-au-Matelot.

We have much pleasure in reporting that this volume has also been a great success whatever it has found its way, and that both the late and present Governors-General have expressed their warm approval after a

personal inspection. The experiment of sending out a few review, or presentation, copies has proved equally encouraging. Two such copies have already exerted considerable influence over two forthcoming histories of prime importance. One is the new American history of Canada which is being written by Mr. Frank Tracy, literary editor of the Boston Transcript. The other is what promises to be the greatest and most authoritative "History of the United States and its People," a magnificent work in twelve volumes, which Dr. Avery has been preparing for eighteen years and of which the Burrows Brothers are already beginning the actual publication. Several other copies are now doing their work equally well in many influential quarters, and altogether, they cannot fail to have a far-reaching effect in making this momentous turning point in Canadian and Imperial history both better known and better understood.

The Society was ably represented at the annual meeting of the Royal Society of Canada last spring, at Ottawa, by our Librarian, Mr. F. C. Wurtele. The report we then presented is to be found at p. cxv. of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada for 1905-6. It is matter for congratulation to learn that our account of the tablets excited deep and widespread interest among the assembled members and delegates, and that our suggestion for organizing a Canadian Landmark Association was enthusiastically adopted on the spot, by motion of a Past President of the Royal Society, Sir James Grant, whose seconder was the actual President of the Historical Section, Mr. W. D. Lighthall. The wording of our suggestion is in part, as follows:—

Name—The Canadian Landmark Association.

Object—To preserve memorials of great events and persons, to mark historic sites by monuments and tablets; and, in general, to safeguard those landmarks of nature or man which ought to be kept as heirlooms for posterity.

Method—"One for all, and all for one," by concentrating the widespread general interest of all kindred

societies and individuals on each one particular effort to carry out the object of the Association in any part of Canada.

His Excellency the Governor-General has been graciously pleased to signify his willingness to become Patron of the Canadian Landmark Association so soon as it shall have been suitably organized.

Mr. Lighthall has kindly suggested that our Society should commence the organization in Quebec; but our President, believing that the basis should be an all-Canadian one from the very beginning, has considered it more advisable to leave the public initiative entirely to the Royal Society. In any case, we respectfully beg to recommend the strenuous pursuit of this most desirable object to the incoming Council and to all the members of our Society.

We have fortunately been instrumental in helping to save the Martello Tower overlooking the St. Charles. The municipal authorities intend to use it as a police station and keep it intact. We are glad to see a strong and growing body of well-founded opinion becoming more and more alive to the need and advisability of preserving the splendid landmarks of Quebec. We do not wish for a moment to oppose any real modern improvement in our midst; nor do we wish to have any object carefully preserved merely because it happens to be old, and irrespective of its use, beauty or historic interest, for we remember that nearly everything which is now an historic monument to us once served some useful purpose for a bygone generation of our fellow-citizens. But we shall always prevent by every means in our power, any wanton disfigurement of Nature or destruction of these works of man which remind us of a worthy past. And to do so more effectually we would ask our own members, and all Quebecers, to remember the motto, *je me souviens,* and to take up the cause of the Canadian Landmark Association as both a duty and a privilege. With such an Association keeping watch and ward over all that the present only holds in trust for posterity, we should be doubly armed against every wanton attempt to level down the high and rare

distinction of our most favored city "into the catalogue of common things."

The Librarian's and Treasurer's reports deal fully with their own departments. But we should like to mention specially that since we have now paid off the $475 for the new book-cases, according to our agreement with Morrin College, the whole of the College book grant of $250 will be available for its proper purposes during the present year. Dr. Douglas' generous grant of $500 will be divided, as before, between the book fund and the publishing of original documents. The question of a new catalogue has been considered; but as there are no available funds, we must, for the present, be content with the card-catalogue which has been so carefully compiled by the Librarian and his assistant, and which is also the indispensable preliminary to a printed catalogue. Of course, there can be no question about the advisability of a new printed catalogue, and we recommend that this work be taken in hand as soon as funds for it shall have become available.

With regard to our general financial position, we have to report that we still carry a residuary indebtedness which we shall pay off, so soon as possible, out of the realization of an investment which we are free to use at our discretion. We hope to obtain, as on former occasions, a special grant from the Provincial Government in aid of the work of publishing the documents relating to 1775. Our deputation was kindly received by the Prime Minister, who acknowledged that our work was one of national importance.

It affords us great pleasure to report that not a single member has died or resigned in 1905, that only three have left the city, and that thirty-three new members have been elected. This means an addition of thirty to our membership and of $120 to our annual subscriptions.

We desire to publicly acknowledge the special kindness of our Honorary President, Dr. James Douglas, in giving us a most interesting lecture on "Education in Quebec in the 17th Century," on the 26th of Jan-

uary, to the great delight of one of the largest and most apprecative audiences we have ever had.

We would beg leave to remind our members that Quebec is to be honored by an exceptionally brilliant gathering of savants from every part of the world, and by one whose specialty should appear with peculiar force to our sympathetic interest, since it is the study of the native Indian races of America. We desire to express an earnest hope that many of our Society will take the opportunity of becoming temporary members of this International Congress of Americanists, during its session here in next September.

In conclusion we would venture to remind our French-speaking fellow citizens that our society has always been, and still is, one in which they will find themselves most warmly welcomed; one in which many French-Canadians have occupied the most distinguished positions, from our foundation down to the present day; one in which they would already find several members of their own race and creed; and, finally, one in which the common intellectual interests of all Quebecers will always find a common home.

The whole respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM WOOD,
President.

WILLIAM CLINT,
Council Secretary.

The report of the treasurer shows that an income of $400 was derived from a capital of $8,700 of the Endowment Fund, and 718 from subscriptions. To the book fund there was the annual grant of $250 from Dr. James Douglas and $250 from Morrin College. Dr. James Douglas also subscribed $250 to the publication fund. The Board of Governors of Morrin College also granted the Society free rental for the use of the rooms.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian begs to report 762 accessions to the Library during the past year, composed of 245 bound, 227 unbound volumes by donation and exchange. Fifty one maps, and 239 volumes purchased, eighty of which are works of fiction.

The thanks of the Society are due to some twenty-five kind persons who have presented the Library with valuable books, among whom may be mentioned, Miss J. Stevenson who sent in seventy-seven excellent works from the library of the late James Stevenson, some-time President of this Society; Dr. James Douglas for "Old France in the new World"; J. Theodore Ross, Esq., for a handsome set of 26 reference volumes "The 19th Century Series," Major James Morgan for two large elephant folios, "Monographie de la Cathedral de Bourges," one of which is filled with beautiful colored engravings of all the painted windows in that sacred edifice; the New York Historical Society, for 17 volumes of its historical collections to complete the set on our shelves; Rev. Dr. Bethune for his monographs on Entomology, and the Journals of the General Synod of Canada; and T. J. Moore, Esq., for the "Heart of the White Mountains."

The number of books loaned to members exceeds that of the previous year by 900 volumes, making in all 2828 volumes, of which 138 remain out beyond the 14 days specified in the By-Laws, and in this connection, members should not forget that others are waiting to read these same books, especially the new purchases.

The classification of the issues is as follows:—
Fiction, 1858 volumes; current magazines, 250; biography, 202; travel, 164; history, 138; general literature and miscellaneous, 112; poetry and drama, 34; science and art, 26; French works, 23; natural history, 21, a total of 2858 volumes.

As soon as the book grants are received from Dr.

Douglas and Morrin College, the book committee will make out the list for new purchases, when the recommendation book will receive first attention.

All respectfully submitted,

FRED. C. WURTELE,
Hon. Librarian.

QUEBEC, 30th December, 1905.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Dr. J. M. Harper and S. Lesage, Esq., were named Scrutineers; the election of officers was proceeded with and resulted as follows:—

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On taking the Chair, President Casgrain thanked the members for the honor conferred upon him and paid a tribute to the retiring President, Major Wood, saying the Society needed more members of his stamp and new blood. The Chair could not have been better filled during the term just closed. He would do his best.

A vote of thanks to Major Wood was then proposed by S. Lesage, Esq. and Lt.-Col. Turnbull and unanimously carried.

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Slavery in Old Canada — Before and After the Conquest

READ BEFORE THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, THE 2ND MARCH, 1906

BY

COLONEL HUBERT NEILSON

That the blot of slavery existed at one time in this fair land of ours is a fact mentioned by few of our historical writers. Some gloss over the fact, others allude to it in a most casual manner, others are silent. Garneau, considered by our French Canadian fellow citizens as the best and most patriotic historian of this Province, in his anxiety to exonerate the French Government from the odium of authorizing slavery, deliberately misquotes the rescripts of that government granting permission to hold negro slaves in Canada, dated 31st October and 6th November, 1688. At page 167, Vol. II of his Histoire du Canada (3rd edit. 1859) he says. "I must refer here to a decision which brings "great honor to the French government with regard to "the exclusion of slaves from Canada, a colony which "the King loved above all others on account of the war-"like character of its inhabitants; a colony destined to "resemble Old France; the home of a gallant gentry, "the people animated with sentiments truly national, "catholic, and above all French with no admixture of "foreign blood. In 1688, permission was asked to "bring negroes to the colony. The Government replied "that it feared that the climate would be too rigorous "for them. This reply sufficed to save our country

"from the terrible plague of slavery. At the time of "the conquest there were perhaps a few, and this event "was followed by an increase in their number, shortly "followed by their complete disappearance." It is thus history is made to suit the predilections and views of both the writer and perhaps the readers. M. Bibaud, a contemporary of Garneau, who also wrote a History of Canada, honestly admits that there were slaves here before the conquest and further substantiates his statements by quotations from the French laws; on this point Robert Christie, Wm. Smith, J. F. Perrault and the abbé Ferland are silent. Parkman in his "*Old Régime, page* 338, 16*th edition,*" dismisses the subject in less than a half page. Sulte in his 8 folio volumes "*Histoire des Canadiens Français*" alludes to the matter in very few lines. Kingsford's volumes give us no further information beyond a short reference to the matter in Vol. II, page 508, where he says: "that Mr. "de la Découverte and his companions were prosecuted "at Montreal in 1718, for opening out trading opera-"tions with Albany and bringing into Canada with him "one negro slave and some silver plate." Kingsford erroneously adds that this negro must have been one of the first brought to Canada.

Therefore for evidences and particulars of the existence of slavery in Canada, we need not seek through the volumes of our standard histories, but in contemporary mémoires, letters, old newspapers, local histories, documents, legal instruments, family records, laws and ordinances, odds and ends, and reliques so dear to the antiquarian.

Yet the first reference to slavery in Canada, I find in B. Sulte Vol. 1 page 66 "*Histoire des Canadiens Français,*" it was the first infancy of the colony at Port Royal (now Annapolis in Nova Scotia) in 1607. Without quoting his authority Sulte says: "Poutrincourt, "(the founder of the place) built a grist mill, and it "occurred to him that the next best move would be to "obtain slaves to work it. It was thereupon decided to "capture three or four Indians, by trick or otherwise, "and that if they offered serious resistance they were "to be stabbed to death without further parleying."

Whether or not the scheme was successful is not clearly stated. Further on I will tell you more of the red man as a slave to the white man.

The next mention of a slave is found in the "*Relation des Jésuites,*" that curious yet most valuable collection of facts, fiction and religion, where it is stated that when the Kertks captured Quebec in 1628, they had with them a young Malagasy slave who was subsequently sold for the sum of 50 écus, (60 sols or 3 Fcs.) about $30, he appears to have remained in the colony, (Relation of 1632.)

We must now skip many years to 1688, when Governor, the Marquis de Denonville and Intendant de Champigny wrote, from Quebec, to the French Minister on the 10th of August, 31st October and 6th November, among other statements that: "Laborers and servants "are so scarce and costly in Canada that those who "attempt extensive works are ruined in consequence. "We believe that the surest means of obviating this "difficulty would be to bring here negro slaves. The "Procureur Général of the Council assures us that if "His Majesty sanctions this proposal that the principal "inhabitants will cause some to be purchased in the "(West India) islands on the arrival of the (slave) "ships from Guinea (the Gold Coast) and that he will "himself do likewise." To this the Minister replied "His Majesty permits the inhabitants to import negroes "to assist them in cultivating the land; At the same "time it is proper to warn them that the great con-"trasts of climate might prove fatal to these negroes, "and the project thus become a failure." This is the rescript misquoted by the historian Garneau.

The project was attempted with but indifferent success at first. For we see that on the 13th April, 1709, the Intendant found it necessary to issue an Ordinance, with regard to negroes and (*) Pawnee indians. As the ordinance is long winded and involved, the following extract will suffice. This is particularly important as reaffirming the rescript of 1688, establishing and authorizing slavery in the colony; slavery not only of

(*) Spelt Panis in the French records.

negroes as you will note but of the native American Indians of the Far West.

Jacques Raudot, Intendant, etc.

"Having a deep conviction of the advantage to the "colony if it were possible to obtain by purchase In- "dians of the Panis (Pawnee) nation whose country is "very distant; further that these people can only be ob- "tained from certain Indians who capture them for the "purpose of traffic, chiefly with the English of the Caro- "linas, and sometimes with our own people; and fur- "ther that these Canadian purchasers of Panis are "exposed to considerable losses, by the fact that some "evil intentioned persons among us have inspired these "captive Indians, with the idea of freedom, on the plea "that in France there are no slaves and that in conse- "quence they cannot be detained as such, and this pre- "tence, not being wholly true, for it is well known that "in the West Indian Colonies; negroes are bought and "sold into slavery, and all colonies must be considered "on the same footing, and that the people of the Panis "nation are necessary to the inhabitants of this colony "to asist them as laborers, on their farms and for other "works, for the same purposes and in the same way "that negroes are employed in the said West Indian "Islands, it becomes necessary to confirm such pu- "chasers of Panis Indians, in the past or the future in "the proprietorship of these slaves.

"Therefore, we with the assent of His Majesty or- "dain all the Panis and the negroes who have been or "shall be purchased shall be the property of those who "have purchased them and they shall be held as their "slaves.

"We forbid the said Panis or negroes to desert from "their masters, and those who shall induce them to "leave their masters shall be liable to a penalty of 50 "livres.

"We ordain that this present ordinance shall be pro- "claimed and read in the usual places in the towns of "Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, that it shall be "registered, etc., etc., as law.

(Sgd.) RAUDOT.

Quebec, 13 April, 1709.

This ordinance leaves no doubt as to the conditions and necessities of the times which brought it forth. Slavery under the authority of the rescript of 1688, had taken root in the colony, but the law was too vague to be considered sufficiently binding, and the legality of ownership had been apparently questioned.

The capture of Panis slaves had become quite an important trade among the tribes bordering on the white settlements in the Carolinas. It follows that these tribes played on this continent, at that period, the infamous role of slave traders and slave hunters as the mongrel Arabs of Eastern Africa do to the present day. The Iroquois, Eries, Sakis, Miamis, Illinois, Poutaouatomies and their sub-tribes all participated more or less in this trade.

The people of the Panis nation were thought more docile, more susceptible of becoming useful field laborers. Probably they were less fierce, less warlike than their neighbors. They were comparatively safe people to attack and kidnap. Moreover they dwelt in a country so remote that the temptation to escape was lessened. It was next to impossible for a solitary Indian to travel alone through the vast wilderness which stretched between the early settlers and his former home. Let alone the imminent danger of being taken alive by wandering Indians and losing his scalp and likely tortured.

Young men and maidens were the game most sought after, particularly the latter. The prairies of the West must have been the scene in former times of many outrages on peaceful communities, of many foraging parties returning to the East with long trains of unfortunate captives destined to an existence in some cases worse than death, for it is well known that the red man prizes the freedom of God's earth more highly than any other human being.

From the beginnings of the colony of Louisiana, which of course was part of New France and in communication with the older northern provinces through the chain of Lakes and the Mississipi, negro slaves were imported from the West Indian islands and the

Guinea Coast, and Panis captured and sold to the new settlers. The Panis however were not nearly as satisfactory laborers as the negroes. The innate love of freedom was far more highly developed in them than in the African negro. The Indian is naturally indolent, unused to great exertions except in spells and then his employment must be entirely congenial, the chase, for instance, or war. In Louisiana the Panis still stood on his own ground; he was continually on the lookout for an opportunity of running to the woods; when once under their shelter he defied pursuit. He could find his subsistance there and doubtless in time, if he followed the course of the great Mississipi, its western branches would lead him to the hunting ground of his tribe. Not so the negro in Canada or in Louisiana, if he deserted he would perish in a wilderness new to him, or fall into the hands of some wandering Indian who would soon enough put an end to his miserable existence, and gain a woolly scalp-lock for his belt. In a word the negro was a better laborer and could not easily desert. Hence a luminous idea suggested itself to Bienville, interim Governor of Louisiana; on the 12th October 1708, he wrote to the Court of France begging its sanction for the following scheme: For any two able-bodied Panis sent to the French West Indian Islands, one negro would be brought to Louisiana. The Panis once on strange tropical islands desertion would be impossible and they would in time become useful laborers. This plan however did not commend itself to the French King.

It is a well known fact that the North American Indians spared some of their captives in war for the purpose of making slaves of them. Jonathan Carver, who wrote his travels about 1765, tells us (4th American edition, page 199) that the Chiefs sometimes made presents of slaves to French officers in command of outposts. The Jesuits, he adds, seized on the idea of obtaining captives and sending them to the east for the double and laudable purpose of 1° saving their lives and 2° leading them to the knowledge of Christianity. They even encouraged some traders to buy slaves from the warring tribes for the same purpose. The good

intentions of the pious fathers were in a measure defeated. The tribes soon learnt the value of slaves, and that they could barter them for firewater, and other commodities and in an incredibly short time slave hunting and trading became a regular business. Carver adds that, as early as 1693, the Jesuits wrote to the French Court complaining of the evils resulting from the new trade. So far I have been unable to verify the truth or find the origin of this statement.

In 1736, the number of slaves who had been given or obtained, or claimed to have been given their liberty, became so numerous that in some cases confusion arose, from the greater or lesser validity of these pretentions. Hence an ordinance was issued to legalize a formula of manumission of enfranchisement of a slave by gift, by purchase or otherwise; it ran thus:

"It having been brought to our notice that individuals "residing in this colony had granted freedom to their "slaves with no other legal formality than verbal con-"sent, it has become necessary to proclaim an unvarying "form of granting freedom; henceforth, We, after "taking counsel with the Marquis de Beauharnois, "Governor and the King's Lieutenant General in this "colony, order that in the future every individual, "in this colony, whatever his condition or quality, "desiring to enfranchise his slaves, shall cause a legal "instrument to be drawn up by a notary, who shall "keep a minute thereof and cause the same to be re-"gistered in the records of the nearest royal registry "office. We further declare that manumissions must "be made in the above manner to be valid. And the "said ordinance shall be read. etc., etc.

(Sgd) HOCQUART.

Quebec, 1st September, 1736.

Now, it happened more frequently every year that runaway slaves from the English provinces reached Canada. It also happened that slaves were captured from the English or other enemies of France as a result of military expeditions; whose property did they be-

come? This question was settled by a Royal ordinance reaffirming certain colonial ordinances dating back to 1692 and which declared that on and after the 23rd July, 1745 such captured slaves were the property of His Most Christian Majesty, and that the produce of their sale was to go to the Royal Treasury. This ordinance further specified that in the case of four negro slaves, who had escaped from the English island of Antigua and landed in Guadeloupe the moneys obtained for them were to be credited to the Treasurer of the Windward Islands and spent in improvements to the fortifications of the said Islands.

Under the French Régime property in slaves was governed by a special code known as the "Code Noir" (The Black Code) which had been (since 1685) in force in the French West Indian Islands and incorporated in the "Coûtume de Paris." It received the Royal sanction as applicable to all French colonies in America on the 13th November, 1705. According to this code negro slaves are declared movable property, *meubles*. Here is an extract of the judicial declaration on this point: "We after consulting with the elder lawyers "and Procurators (or solicitors), the advisors of the "King, and the Counsellors of the Bench, say, that "according to the usage of the Coutume de Paris, cattle "on farms etc., are not part thereof, but are to be sold "separately, and in successions they are the property "of the specified heirs to the movables, etc. etc., just as "on the Island of San Domingo the "Coûtume de "Paris"obtains, the negro slaves on this island are not "considered as immovables, but are sold as movables. "This we attest as true; this decision is not in conform-"ity with the practice of the country where the written "law obtains, but is a municipal law which is always ob-"served where ever the Coûtume de Paris rules."

In Canada the Coûtume de Paris was the law and therefore all slaves were movable property.

Were slaves numerous in the colony previous to the Conquest? It appears not.

Beyond Carver's statement, so far not corroborated with regard to the Jesuits which I have quoted, I have so far found no record proving that religious commu-

nities held slaves, but individuals among the wealthier inhabitants possessed several negro slaves or Panis. In Vol. 6, page 119, of that valuable publication "Recherches Historiques," I find interesting extracts of certain records of the Lemoine de Longueuil family which give us the names of several slaves and their offspring the property of the first Baron de Longueuil as follows:

Charles Lemoine owned two slaves a negro named Charles and his wife named Elizabeth or Charlotte Tibé. They had five children, four of which were baptized at Longueuil.

François born on the 2nd August, 1723, buried 6 Feby. 1730.

Marie Elizabeth, 2nd August 1724, Married 1763.

Marie Charlotte, 10th May, 1726.

Joseph, 7th March, 1728.

Charles....

These six slaves were apportioned as follows, on the 18th June, 1729, on the occasion of a "Partage entre vifs". The Baron retained the boy François and a girl name Marie Elizabeth. To the Chevalier de Longueuil fell the boy Charles and a girl named Charlotte, also the father and the mother and an infant in arms. And in order to equalize the division the Chevalier de Longueuil ceded to the Baron "une Panyse nommée Marie Joseph et un Pany nommé Gabriel," and both parties declared themselves satisfied.

The writer of this family history states that these slaves were domestic servants, not farm laborers. It does not appear that large slave owners exised in New France nor that there was occasion for regular slave markets like in the Southern Countries; but that a limited number of negro slaves were imported and held for domestic and agricultural purposes is amply proved. Also that Panis and other Indians were captured and sold or bartered on the shores of the St. Lawrence for purposes of slavery is an undisputed fact.

Monseigneur Tanguay in his "*Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes*" and in his "Ex-

tracts" of the parish church registers, dating before and after the Conquest, cites several instances of births, marriages and burials of slaves. Here are a few: "Baptisée Marie Judith, Panis, âgée d'environ 12 "ans, appartenant au sieur Préville de cette pa- "roisse": (christened "Marie Judith", Panis, aged about 12, belonging to the Sieur Préville of this Parish.) This is an extract of the registers of the parish of "La Longue Pointe, near Montreal, under date of the 4th November, 1756. A burial certificate taken from the same register under date of March 13, 1755 reads: "Inhumé le corps de Louise, négresse, "âgée de 27 ans appartenant à Mr. Deschambeault", (Buried the body of Louise, female negro aged 27 years, belonging to Mr. Deschambeault.)

The old records of the then Criminal Courts offer interesting documents, touching slavery. For instance at Montreal on the night of the 10th to the 11th April, 1734, the slave of Madame de Francheville, a negress, set fire to her mistress' house: it and a good portion of the city was destroyed in consequence. She was tried, found guilty and hanged in June following.

On the 22nd January, 1757, Constant, described as the Panis slave of Monsr. de Saint-Blain, an officer of infantry, was found guilty of a criminal offence and condemned to the stocks on a market day in the public square and to be banished forever from the jurisdiction of Montreal. Apparently a dead loss to the owner, as no compensation is mentioned.

With time and opportunity to pursue researches in the records of Courts of justice, among the minutes of notaries public, etc., of rummaging the archives at Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers, many notes curious and interesting touching slavery under the French Régime would come to light. Tanguay's work, before referred to, contains many proofs that the Indian slaves were by no means all of the Pawnee nation, most of the Indian nations of the Western prairies had representatives among these unfortunate captives. The Sioux were quite largely drawn upon, also the Kansas savages, whose nationality is sometimes recorded in the contemporary church registers

as Louise-Sioux, Pierre-Kansa, with their approximate age and the name of their actual or late proprietor. Whatever their tribal origin they were generally referred to under the general designation of Panis, meaning Indian slave, to distinguish them from negro slaves.

A large proportion of these Panis slaves were young females. It is probable that the traders found that there was a better demand for this class of goods. They were employed as useful domestic servants. The Indian women were by nature more docile and better workers than the men. There is no doubt that quite a proportion of these young girls eventually married Frenchman or Canadians and that they have many descendants now among the French Canadians. Indeed to this day it is not altogether uncommon to see one or more members of a Canadian family with traces of the Indian cast of countenance, lank black hair, dark eyes and skin, perhaps also mental as well as physical characteristics, legacies of a redskin ancestor several generations back, of course not necessarily a Panis.

The number of slaves held by the French inhabitants at the time of the Conquest in 1759-60, is uncertain. However, there must have been an appreciable number, for in the articles of capitulation of Montreal granted by Amherst on the 8th September 1760, we find article 47 to the following effect:—"The negroes and panis "of both sexes shall remain in their quality of slaves "in the possession of the French or Canadians to whom "they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in "their service in the colony or sell them, and they may "also continue to bring them up in the Roman Religion. "Granted,—except those who shall have been made pri-"soners."

I will translate from "Recherches Historiques" Vol. 6, page 120—an Act de Mariage, in order to illustrate how marital relations of slaves were carried out under sanction of the Law and Church. "In the year of our "Lord 1763, Jan. fifth. We saw a paper written by Monsieur Ignace Gamelin and signed by him, by which "he permits Jacques César, his negro, to marry Marie "the negress of Madame la Baronne douairière de "Longueuil, dated the 20th January, 1761, and this in

"consideration of the services rendered by the said "César to the said Sieur Gamelin since more than thirty "years, and on the other hand in consideration of ser- "vices, rendered by the said Marie to the said Baronne "de Longueuil and to the late Baron and all his family "from the days when she was able to serve. I the un- "dersigned being permitted so to do by Messire Isam- "bart, Curé de Longueuil, do receive their mutual con- "sent by word of mouth and to give them the nuptial "blessing in the presence on the husband's side of the "said Sieur Gamelin Lagemeraye and on the side of "the wife Madame Marie Catherine Deschambeault, "Baronne douairière de Longueuil and Mr. Joseph "Fleury Deschambeault, agent of the company, (sic) "undersigned.

(Sgd) DESCHAMBEAULT. Longueuil. IGNACE GAMELIN.

J. ISAMBART, Pte. Curé de Longueuil,

IGNACE GAMELIN.

The consent of the proprietors of these slaves to marry meant emancipation as may be seen by the "Act of Consent," which reads as follows:

"The undersigned do hereby consent and permit "Jacques César, my negro, to marry Marie negress of "Madame la Baronne de Longueuil, on condition that "Madame de Longueuil shall liberate from slavery her "said negress. As I liberate César, and he shall not "pretend nor understand that I liberate him for any "other purpose nor for any other marriage. Written "in duplicate, Montreal, this 20th January, 1761.

(Sgd) IGNACE GAMELIN.

"I the undersigned permit Marie, my negress, who "during the last three years has begged me to permit "her to marry César the negro owned by Mr. Gamelin, "who is by him liberated for that purpose, consent to "this intended marriage, grant her liberty, as Mr. "Gamelin has done to César on condition however that "both shall remain in my service for three years, and "I shall pay them 200 livres per annum. I promise

"to increase the said sum if they deserve it,—done at "Montreal, Jan. 26, 1763."

(Sgd.) DESCHAMBEAULT.
Longueuil née Deschambeault.

Please note that Gamelin consented to this marriage two years before Madame Longueuil gave her consent.

After the final cession of the colony to England in 1763, whether it was that the Panis supply fell short or that the newly introduced British sentiments were antagonistic to this particular form of slavery, certain it is that the word Panis slave is seldom found in the Province of Quebec. But Indian slavery was not entirely abolished in Upper Canada as late as 1802.

AFTER THE CONQUEST.

Slavery was practically restricted to the negro race. It had been an accepted institution under the old régime and it continued to flourish under the new. In fact it seems to have acquired for a time, renewed life with the influx of new inhabitants of British origin, and the scarcity of menial servants, domestic and otherwise. Advertisements of negroes for sale, of notices for runaway slaves, etc., are not at all uncommon in the 36 or more volumes of the Quebec Gazette, dating from 1764, to the end of the century. It was the first and only newspaper printed in Canada during most of that period. I have in my possession, among several others, a curious letter of Wm. Brown, the founder of this newspaper and of the press in Canada, to his correspondents in Philadelphia, part of this letter refers to the difficulty of obtaining suitable assistants and he wants a slave!

"Quebec, April 29, 1768.

"To William Dunlap, Esq.,
Postmaster of Philadelphia.

"Dear Friend,

".....Having been long embarassed with Cana-
"dian (French) boys as menial servants about the

"printing office, who will not engage for a consider-
"able time and who as soon as they find themselves
"useful, claim larger wages and become intolerably
"insolent, we are at last come to a resolution of get-
"ting negro boys; wherefor we beg you will endeavor
"to purchase one for us beween 15 and 20 years of
"age fit to put to ye press; one who has had the
"smallpox, is country born and can be recommended
"for his honesty. We would not begrudge a pretty
"good price for such a likely negro. Or if you should
"be inclined to part with your boy Priam we would
"be glad to have him, and would be glad to give what
"would be judged a reasonable price for him. We
"pray you may try and procure us one so that he may
"reach us here in the fall; and as soon as you shall be
"certain of him or determined to part with your own
"we beg that you may lose no time in acquainting us
"with the price which we will immediately remit to
"you by a Bill on (New) York as we shall keep the
"cash ready till we hear from you. Should it be too
"late for an opportunity from Philadelphia there has
"always been vessels from York in August, and Sept-
"ember and no doubt there shall be this year."

In the postscript he adds, "If you are so lucky to
"get us a negro before you embark him we beg he
"may be insured."

If you are interested to know the outcome of this request, I fear I have to disappoint you, as I am unable to tell you whether or not the said Priam or any negro boy was dispatched well and sufficiently insured to W. Brown. In his Diary (which is also in my possession) I do not find the name of Priam, but that of Joe and Saney, evidently slaves. I am pleased to say that W. B. was a kind and indulgent master. In the entries of his Diary, he is very methodical, precise and minute; in it are revealed many things concerning his private and business affairs also his domestic concerns, (he was a bachelor), all of considerable interest now. We here find that at every recurrent New Year's Day, he never omits a small gift of money to "the boys," mentioning the aforesaid by name. Now and again are items of expense for their clothing,

such as fur caps and mitts, blanket coats, and mocassin shoes at one and six a pair, etc., etc.

It appears that the said Joe fell later into evil ways, for in the year 1774, W. B. notes that he paid a Bailiff seven shillings and six pence to bring Joe off a ship about sailing from port. Desertion was his object no doubt. In 1777 W. B. pays five shillings to the *public executioner* to whip Joe in the *"market square."* He must have been guilty of a heinous offence. During the siege of Quebec by the American Army in the winter of 1775-76, William Brown, like most of the loyal fellow ciizens capable of bearing arms, enlisted in the British Militia. On several occasions when his turn came to mount guard on the ramparts, the diary reveals that either Joe or Saney took his master's duty and received a reward of one shilling each time. The present regulations could hardly allow such substitutions of duty. The same diary tells us also of a considerable sum paid the Doctor on account of a prolongued illness indulged in by Joe. Altogether these two young Africans appear to have had in William Brown the printer a generous master, equally solicitous to apply remedies for their physical and moral obliquities and not unmindful of their comforts withal.

During the French Régime when a slave escaped, there being no newspapers nor even a printing press in the country, it was difficult for the master to give public warning of the escape of his slave, to describe him, offer a reward, etc. Recourse was had to the public crier, at the street corners of towns and the church doors of country parishes. On the 8th February, 1734, Captain Joanne found it necessary to obtain an ordinance of Intendant Hocquart warning all Captains of parishes to arrest and detain his Carribean slave who had escaped and was supposed to be in hiding in the Parish of St-Augustin.

With the advent of the English domination came a printing press and the above mentioned newspaper, the Quebec Gazette. In its advertisement columns are occasionally found notices of slaves for sale, or the

description of a runaway slave. These were usually made noticeable at the left hand corner of the advertisement by the figure of a black man, standing full face to the front. If the advertisement was to give a description of a deserting slave, the cut showed a negro in profile in the act of running holding a cane in his hand, as reproduced hereunder.

I have transcribed a few of these advertisements from the files of the Quebec Gazette.

"February 23, 1769.No. 217.

"As Miles Prenties, tavern keeper in the Lower "Town of Quebec, intends leaving the Province, he "requests all persons who have any demands upon him "to give in their accounts, and he also requests all "persons who are indebted to him to make speedy pay-"ment, so as he may be better able to pay off his just "debts.

"Mr. Prenties has to sell a negro woman aged 25 "years with a mulatto male child 9 months old; she "was formerly the property of General Murray; she "can be well recommended for a good house servant, "handles milk well and makes butter to perfection; "Likewise a negro man aged 23 years, a very good "house servant; understands waiting upon a gentle-"man and looks well in livery.

The advertisement reappeared at intervals until the 15th of June, when, despairing of getting rid of the three human beings tied to his neck as mill stones, at a time

when he is anxious of removing to foreign parts, Miles Prenties decides to put his chattels to public auction, and announces as follows in the Quebec Gazette.

"To be sold at Public Vendue, on Friday, the 16th "instant, a negro woman aged 25, with a mulatto male "child 9 months old. She can be well recommended "as a good house servant. Likewise a negro man, "aged 23, a very good house servant and understands "a good deal of cookery.

Note the negro baby 9 months old on the 23rd Feb. was not a day older on the 15th June following.

Whether or not Miles Prenties carried out his intention of leaving the Province, on this occasion, I cannot tell. Certain it is that a few years later he is found as keeper of the most fashionable hotel of the period, in that famous old building known as the Chien d'Or, also Free Masons Hall.

The Gazette of the 20th July, 1769 has an advertisement of Peter du Calvet, merchant of Montreal, for a runaway slave. The said du Calvet became very notorious and troublesome ten years later during the war of independence as an American sympathizer, a spy, an agitator and an obstreperous political prisoner, before and after his release from durance vile. "Joseph "Negrie, a young man, of about 22 years of age, of a "brown complexion, slim made, 5 feet 3 inches high, "his face marked as if he had lately had the smallpox, "small legs, speaks French and English tolerably "well, ran away in the night between the 7th and 8th "instant, etc. The public are desired not to employ "the said Negrie and all captains of vessels who may "take him on board are forewarned from carrying "him out of the Province as they will be pursued to "the utmost rigor of the law. Whoever shall discover "said Negrie are desired to inform his master Peter "du Calvet, Esquire, of Montreal, or Mr. Thomas "Lee, merchant of Quebec.

Another:

Quebec, Aug. 24, 1769.

"To be sold, for no fault, the owner having no em- "ploy for him, a likely negro fellow about 22 or 23

"years of age, understands cooking, waiting at table "and household work, etc., etc. He speaks both En- "glish and French. For further particulars enquire "of the Printer."

Quebec, Oct. 19, 1769.

"Run away on the 11th September last, a negro "woman, named Susannah, about 27 years of age, 5 "feet 10 inches high (!) smooth faced, speaks French "a little and English. Whoever apprehends and "secures the said negro woman so that her master "may have her again shall receive a reward of ten "dollars by applying to Messrs. Dobie & Frobisher, "merchants of Montreal or to the Printer here.

"N.B. Whoever harbors and conceals (?) said "negro woman, shall be prosecuted to the utmost rigor "of the law."

FOURTEEN DOLLARS REWARD.

"Run away on Sunday night last from the sub- "scriber, a negro man named Ishmael, about 36 years "of age and nearly 5 feet 6 inches high; of a remark- "ably downcast countenance and a black and copper "coloured mixed complexion; his hair is short, strong, "black and curly and his face much pitted with smallpox. "He wants some of his upper fore teeth, likewise the "first joint of the fore finger of his left hand. And "besides on the middle of the right leg he has a fresh "scar from a horse kick lately received and cured. "Had on when he went off a round hat cocked up be- "hind and a blue silk band, a red plush waistcoat, a "pair of leggings and breeches in one, a pair of shoes "and metal buckles.

"He came from Claverac near Albany in 1776 with "his former master, C. Spencer, and speaks and read "English tolerably well and understands a little "Dutch and French. He passes himself, 'tis said, as "a free negro, the more easily to effect his escape "from the Province. Whoever will apprehend the "said negro and deliver him to the subscriber, mer-

"chant, Montreal, shall receive the above reward and "all reasonable charges from

JOHN TURNER.

"Montreal, March 1, 1784.

These few instances will suffice for he purposes of this paper.

The value of negro adult males varied as much as that of good, bad or indifferent horses do now. Besides the age, physical power, whether or not he has acquired immunity from smallpox (then more fatal than now), his intelligence, special aptitudes, temper, habits, docility, etc., had to be considered; they added or took away from his value, which varied from nil to 70 or 80 pounds. A good young woman, accomplished in house work, was worth from 30 to 60 pounds. I have seen two deeds of sale of the same negro woman, known by the name of Peg. The first when she was sold by Elias Smith to James Finlay—(Post-Master General) under the date of June 9, 1783, for the sum of £50. The second when Finlay sold her to Patrick Langan on the 14th May, 1788, when she again fetched £50.

As I have said before, during the French Régime the majority of slaves appear to have been Panis; after the conquest negroes largely predominated in number. They were brought into Canada from the West Indies, and also from the British Provinces to the South. During the American War it happened occasionally that slaves were captured from the enemy. These slaves were considered the personal property or loot of those who captured them. This is made clear by the following declaration sworn before James Finlay, J.P., dated July 16, 1780:

"This day personnally appeared before me James "Finlay, Justice of the Peace for the Province of "Quebec, John Munro, Esq., of Matilda in the said "Province, who maketh oath on the Holy Evangeliste "that in the year 1780 he was ordered by His Ex. Sir "Frederick Haldimand to take command of a detach-

"ment of His Majesty's troops to proceed to the "enemy's frontier at Ballstown. That the troops and "indians under his command did capture a number of "negroes, which negroes were claimed by the respec-"tive white men and indians who captured them, and "were brought to Montreal and sold as was custom-"ary in such cases, all excepting a negro named Dub-"lin who being known to be a freeman was liberated "and enlisted in His Majesty's service. This de-"ponent further adds that he never considered these "captured negroes as ordinary prisoners of war and "consequently did not report to the Commander-in-"Chief or any other Commanding officer and further "deponent saith naught.

"Sworn, etc., etc.

(Sgd.) JOHN MUNRO.

" JAMES FINLAY, J.P.

"I, Isaac Hill, a Mohawk Chief living at Grand or "Oswego River, testify that I accompanied Capt. "Munro of the Royal Regiment of New York, with a "party of my warriors on an expedition against Balls-"town, in the year 1780, on which we captured some "negroes among which was one sold by Lieutenant "Patrick Langan who then acted as our officer, said "negroes having been captured by one of my war-"riors. And I do further testify that the said Lieu-"tenant Langan acted as agent for my Tribe and "Party and that the said negro was sold by him for "our sole use and benefit and that we received from "him the money the said negro was sold for and fur-"ther the deponent said not (sic).

(Sgd.) ISAAC HILL.

Negroes imported into the colony were dutiable. In the year 1790, the Imperial Parliament passed an act "For encouraging new settlers in His Majesty's "colonies and Plantations in America," wherein it is "stated that if any person or persons being a subject "or subjects of the territories or countries belonging

"to the United States of America shall come from "thence, etc.,..to any of the Bahama or Bermuda "islands or to any part of the Province of Quebec or "Nova Scotia or any of the territories belonging to "His Majesty in North America it shall be lawful for "any such person after having first obtained a license "for that purpose from the Governor to import into the "same....any *negroes,* household furniture, utensils of "husbandry, clothing, free of duty, provided always "that such aricles shall not in the whole exceed the "value of fifty pounds for every *white* person and the "value of forty shillings for any *negro* brought by "such white person."

TREATMENT OF SLAVES

In my researches I have found nothing to indicate that negroes or Panis were cruelly or harshly treated by their masters. Quite the contrary: for instance, Monsieur Gamelin and the Baronne de Longueuil, in consideration of long and faithful service, permit their slaves César and Marie to marry and give them their liberty. William Brown is considerate of his negro boys. It is true Joe gets a whipping one day; but he doubtless richly deserved it.

De Gaspé in his "*Anciens Canadiens,*" page 292, mentions a mulatto woman named Lizette whom Mr. de Haberville had purchased when 4 years old; in time she developed habits of temper quite intolerable. On several occasions he attempted to turn her out and give her freedom; when put out of one door she would come in by another snapping her fingers at him, saying that she had been brought up in the family with his children, and his was as much her home as theirs. Otherwise she was a devoted and faithful servant. I remember well my grandmother's stories of her childhood; (she died in 1866, aged 86), she always spoke affectionately of a devoted negro slave named Lilique (Angelique) originally from Guadaloupe; she had been many years in the family; she positively refused her freedom and died at Three Rivers about 1808 or 1810.

The first census of slaves in the Province of Que-

bec after the conquest, was made in 1784. There were then in Quebec, 88; Three Rivers, 4; and Montreal, 212, total, 304.

All proceeded smoothly enough for slave owners, and few serious difficulties occurred in the relations between masters and slaves in Lower Canada until 1793, when a bill abolishing slavery was framed and presented to the Provincial Parliament by Mr. P. L. Panet, seconded by Mr. L. Dunière. It failed, however, to pass the House. It met with a like fate the following session; but the seeds of unrest were sown.

In February, 1798, a negress named Charlotte, belonging to a Miss Jane Cook, of Montreal, absented herself without leave, and having positively refused to return to her service, she was arrested and brought before a Magistrate. When persistently refusing to return to her mistress she was committed to jail. On petition before Chief Justice Monk, she was granted a writ of Habeas Corpus and liberated thereupon without bail.

This was the signal of great rejoicing among the slaves at Montreal and vicinity, and their excitement became such that there were well grounded fears of rebellion, and to a limited extent, a repetition of the horrors of the St. Domingo and Hayti negro revolt, was in the minds of the timorous. Another negress named Jude, belonging to a merchant named Elias Smith who had purchased her in Albany for £80 American currency, absented herself from her master's house as the afore-named Charlotte had done. She was committed to gaol, but she also obtained a writ of Habeas Corpus on the 8th March. The Chief Justice at the same time declaring that he would act in a similar manner with all such cases brought to him from the inferior courts.

These legal decisions of the Chief Justice gave a very serious complexion to the relations previously existing between masters and slaves. The masters had but one recourse left, appeal to the Legislature, exposing the injustice and serious loss they were suffering and praying for Legislation to clearly define the

status of the slave and rights of his master. A lengthy petition fully detailing their grievances, dated Montreal, April 1st, 1799, bearing numerous and influential signatures, was laid before Parliament on the 19th April following. It covers pages 122 to 129 of the Journals of the House of Assembly for that year. This petition was presented by Mr. Joseph Papineau, seconded by Mr. Justice de Bonne. It was held over during this session and that of 1800; but on the 17th Jan., 1801, Mr. James Cutbert, seconded by Mr. Justice Panet, presented a Bill "To regulate the condition of Slaves, to "Limit the term of Slavery and prevent the further "introduction of Slaves into this Province." I am ignorant of the text and provision of this Bill; it certainly did not mean emancipation. It was twice read in committee, then tabled, never to be reconsidered again. In vain have I searched though the Journals of the House up to 1816 for further action or enactments or even an allusion to Slavery. Time has not permitted me to search further. The question seems to have been forgotten—it had ceased to be a living consideration.

The slave owners had apparently become discouraged by the high handed and I think illegal action of the Chief Justice, (they had been bluffed), by the indifference of Parliament, by the impossibility of discipling fractious slaves, of apprehending deserters—finally the lack of law to enforce their rights. For these reasons the custom of slavery seems to have fallen into abeyance.[1] At last in 1833 came the British act of general emancipation. Was this act ever accepted by our Provincial Legislature? Could it become law in the Province of Quebec without such sanctioning, in view of the articles of capitulation, and the legality of the Coutume de Paris in this Province? These are questions which our legal friends among the audience may assist us in elucidating later. (*)

(*) Mr. G. M. Fairchild informs me that he has seen advertisements concerning slaves in the columns of the Quebec Mercury as late as 1820 or 1821.

SLAVERY IN UPPER CANADA.

On the 9th July, 1793, at the second session of the 1st Parliament of Upper Canada, assembled at Newark, an act was passed entitled "An act to prevent the "further introduction of slaves and to limit the time "of contract for servitudes within this Province.

To summarize the contents of this long act: 1st. After July 9, 1793 no new slaves can be introduced into the Province. 2nd. No negro, or slaves, owned by individuals in the Province are liberated by this act. 3rd. Children born of slave mothers are to remain as slaves until their 25th year.

This was abolition of slavery, it is true; but long drawn out. For instance, to give you an extreme case, suppose a negress slave 10 years of age on the 9th July, 1793, she might have had to remain a slave all her life time had she lived to be 100, she would have remained a slave up to 1883. She might have become mother of several children, the youngest of whom might have been born, say in her 45th year, in 1828 this child would not have gained its liberty until 1853, while the mother would remain in slavery 30 years longer, and then only be released by death, the great emancipator.

Some subsequent legislation to modify this first act may have been enacted by the Provincial legislation but again time has not permitted me to pursue my researches further in this direction. Anyway, the British act of emancipation of August, 1833, under the administration of Earl Grey, grand-father of our present Governor-General, affecting all British Countries and colonies alike, did put an end to slavery in Upper Canada as a British colony and wherever the Union Jack floated.

Permit me now to read you a few more newspaper advertisements, this time with reference to slavery in Upper Canada only. The Venerable Dr. Scadding's work, *Toronto of Old,* page 293 *et seq.* supplies us a few choice examples culled from the Gazette & Oracle, Toronto, Feb., 1806.

"To be sold a black woman named Peggy, aged 40

"years and a black boy, her son, aged 15, named Jupi-
"ter, both of them the property of the subscriber.
"The woman is a tolerable cook and washerwoman
"and understands making soap and candles. The boy
"is tall and strong for his age, and has been employed
"in the country business, but brought up principally
"as a house servant. They are each of them servants
"for life. The price of the woman is $150.00, for the
"boy, $200.00, payable in three years with interest
"from the day of sale secured by bond, etc. But one
"fourth less will be taken for ready money. Peter
"Russell, York, Feb. 19, 1806.

Peter Russell, as you know, was no less a person than the Administrator of the Government of U. C. Peggy had been a source of trouble to her master on one occasion, if not more, for on the 2nd of September, 1803, he had inserted the following notice in the York Gazette: "The subscriber's black servant Peggy, not
"having permission to absent herself from his service,
"the public are humbly cautioned from harboring or
"employing her without the owner's leave. Whoever
"will do so after this notice may expect to be treated
"as the law directs. (Sgd.) Peter Russell.

In the Niagara Herald for 1802, Jany. 2nd, we read
"For sale: a negro slave 18 years of age, stout and
"healthy: has had the smallpox and is capable of ser-
"vice either in the house or out of doors. The terms
"will be made easy to the purchaser, and cash or new
"lands received in payment. Enquire of the printer."

In the same paper, Jany. 18, 1802, we find: For
"sale, the negro man and woman the property of Mrs.
"Widow Clement. They have been bred to the work of
"the farm; will be sold on highly advantageous terms
"for cash or lands. Apply to Mrs. Clement."

The Gazette and Oracle of October 11, 1797, has the following: "Wanted to purchase a negro girl from
"seven to twelve years of age of good disposition.
"For fuller particulars apply to the subscribers, W.
"& J. Cooke, West Niagara, Oct. 4th."

At York in 1800 the Gazette announces: To be sold

"a healthy strong negro woman about 30 years of age; "understands cooking, laundrying and the care of "poultry. N.B.—She can dress ladies' hair. Enquire "of the printers, York, Dec. 20, 1800."

Now we come to an advertisement which is a revelation to me for it proves a fact which I have failed to find elsewhere clearly established; namely that *Indian slavery* continued to exist after the Conquest and even into the early years of this century. It is contained in the Niagara Herald of the 28th August 1802.

"Notice: All persons are forbidden harboring, em-"ploying or concealing my indian slave Sal. As I am "determined to prosecute any offender, to the extre-"mity of the law; and persons who may suffer her to "remain in or upon their premises for the space of "half an hour, without my written consent, will be "taken as offending and dealt with accordingly.

(Sgd.) CHARLES FIELD.

Dr. Scadding in Op. cit. page 292 writes: "On the "last of March, 1811, we have it on record that William "Jarvis, of the town of York (Provincial Secretary), "informed the Court that a negro boy and girl, his "slaves, had the evening before been committed to "prison for having stolen gold and silver out of his "desk in his dwelling, have escaped from his said mas-"ter, and prayed that the Court would order the said "prisoners and one Coachley, a free negro, also com-"mitted to prison on suspicion of having aided and "advised the said boy and girl in elopng with their "master's property. Ordered that the said negro boy "named Henry commonly called Prince be recommit-"ted to prison and there safely kept until delivered "according to law, and that the girl do return to her "said master, and Coachley be discharged."

Solicitor General Robert Gray manumitted (gave freedom), by his will, dated August 27, 1803, to his faithful black servant Dorinda, as well as her children, and further that they might not want, directed that £1200 of his money be invested and the interest applied to their maintenance. To his black servants,

Simon and John Baker, he gave, besides their freedom, 200 acres of land each and primary legacies as well. Simon and his master were lost on board H.M.S. Speedy, which foundered with all hands on Lake Ontario on the 4th November, 1804. John survived until Jan. 17, 1871. He died in Cornwall. He used to say that his mother was a native of Guinea. He remembered Governor Peter Hunter, nick-named Blue Peter, and described him as a rough old warrior, who used to carry snuff in his pockets, whence he took it in handfuls to the great disfigurement of his ruffled shirt bosom.

Dr. Scadding also remembered gazing with intense curiosity on the pure negress, Aimy Pompadour, knowing that she had been once legally made a present of to Mrs. Captain Denison by her friend Miss Elizabeth Russell, daughter of the Honorable Peter Russell.

I have also come across "Slave Facts," etc., touching the Maritime Provinces. I omit them because they are not strictly within the scope of this paper.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

M.S
No. 27

Literary and Historical Socie

OF QUEBEC

SESSIONS OF 1906-07

No. 27

QUEBEC
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH JOB PRINTING HOUSE

1908

TRANSACTIONS

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Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC

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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
. . 9th JANUARY, 1907 . .

QUEBEC, 9th January, 1907.

The annual general meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was held on Wednesday morning, 9th January, in the Library of the Society, at 10 o'clock. There was a large attendance of members, P. B. Casgrain, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Those present were: Messrs. P. B. Casgrain, Alex. Robertson, James Geggie, F. C. Wurtele, Major W. Wood, Cyrille Tesier, S. Lesage, W. Clint, John Hamilton, Rev. P. M. O'Leary, P. Johnston, W. M. Macpherson, Lieut.-Col. Turnbull, D. H. Geggie, F. M. Duggan, George M. Fairchild, Major F. Lampson, P. Gagnon, A. D. Webster, Dr. Harper, J. T. Ross, A. E. Doucet, E. T. D. Chambers, G. R. Thompson, Major W H. Davidson,. J. C. Bradley, H McGreevy, J. B. Hance, C. W. Walcot, J. McLimont, G. E. A. Jones, D. Watson, A. Rhodes, Geo. Gale, H. Willis, J. Morgan, General Henry , D. Jewell, W. Reed, Stuart Oliver, E. H. Anderson, etc.

After reading the minutes of the last meeting, the Recording Secretary, A. Robertson, Esq., submitted the annual report of the Society for the past year.

ANNUAL REPORT.

QUEBEC, 9th January, 1907.

The past year has not been one of remarkable occurrences for the Society. The two historical features are the saving of Martello Tower No. 4, overlooking the Valley of the St. Charles, and the preparation of another volume of original documents, relating to the American siege of Quebec by Montgomery and Arnold in 1775-6. This volume is almost

ready for delivery and, like its predecessors, it will be sent to all our exchanges, and given to such members as care to possess it.

The Martello Tower has now become, largely through our exertion, the property of the City of Quebec, and will be carefully preserved in trust as a relic of former times. In this connection we might mention that the proposal made in our report to the Royal Society of Canada in 1905, favoring the formation of a Canadian Landmark Association, is still before that body. The proposal was warmly received by the Royal Society, but, as that Society only meets once a year, it would be well for our own Society to have some definite scheme of organization ready for the next meeting in Ottawa so that the matter may be brought to a practical issue this time.

Our President, as a delegate of our Society, and with a view to maintaining the traditions of his predecessors, read a monograph before the Royal Society—Sur "Samos et la tentative manquée de Bourgainville pour prêter mainforte à Montcalm à la journée du 13 Septembre, 1759. We beg strongly to recommend to our members the necessity of keeping the original purpose and function of our Society constantly before us. Our charter plainly tells us our duty is :—"To publish documents and monographs on the Natural, Civil and Literary History of British North America," and we hope that more of our members will make themselves active in so good a cause.

We had the pleasure of welcoming to Quebec many members of the Fifteenth International Congress of Americanists last September. Every member of the Congress was offered the hospitality of our rooms, and many, we are glad to say, availed themselves of this privilege, and returned us hearty thanks for it.

We regret that there was only one lecture given under the auspices of the Society. That one, however, was of capital importance and dealt with an original subject in a very interesting, not to say, entertaining manner. It was Colonel Hubert Neilson's paper on Slavery in Canada, which has been published by the Society and is now in the hands of the members.

We have reason to believe that we are soon to have the

privilege of again listening to our Honorary President, Dr. James Douglas, for whose continued generosity during the past year we now beg leave to return our warmest thanks.

We also wish to thank the governors of Morrin College for a continuance of the grant they make concurrently with that of Dr. Douglas; and we call the attention of members to the fact that the Provincial Government granted us $200 in aid of the publication of the original documents of 1775-6. A suitable vote of thanks was conveyed to them after the first meeting of which their grant in aid was announced, and we hereby tender them, de novo, specially to the Prime Minister the Hon. Mr. Gouin, for his timely help and appreciation of our work.

Our finances are, at last, in a satisfactory state, and the Society should not forget how much its Treasurer, Mr. James Geggie, has done to keep them afloat during a good many difficult years.

Our Honorary Librarian, whose indefatigable services have been, and still are, of the utmost benefit to the Society, will present his own report. We would, however, beg leave to state here, that greatly owing to his self-sacrificing devotion in his office, the issue of books has again risen very largely, while the percentage of overdue books has as steadily fallen and such a thing as a missing volume is almost unknown.

The whole respectfully submitted.

P. B. CASGRAIN,

President.

A. ROBERTSON,

Recording-Secretary.

QUEBEC, January 9th, 1907.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Mr. James Geggie presented his Annual Report as Treasurer, showing the investments of the Endowment Fund and the amount received for members' subscriptions,the latter amounting to $595. To the book fund there was the annual grant of $250 from Dr. James Douglas and $250 from Morrin College. Dr. James Douglas also subscribed $250 to the publication fund.

The Board of Governors of Morrin College also granted the Society free rental for the use of the rooms.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

Mr. Fred. C. Wurtele, Librarian, submitted the following interesting report :—

An augmented membership, together with an extended list of accessions to the library by purchase, naturally followed by more volumes being borrowed, tends to demonstrate that greater interest is being taken in the Society by Quebec's citizens.

When the old Society was down in the financial depths and almost sunk out of sight, few, beyond those who stood by it through bad times and lent a helping hand. cared whether it existed or not—Mais cela est tout changé—and the old phrase—"nothing succeeds like success"—is in this case verified.

Seven hundred and fifty-four accessions were received during the past year, composed of 345 volumes by purchase—149 of which are denominated "Fiction," 115 bound volumes and 271 pamphlets, by donation and exchanges with other societies; besides about 23 maps from the Department of the Interior and other sources.

Three thousand nine hundred and forty-one books have been loaned to members, being 1,112 in excess of last year, while the number out over time is only 147 volumes, just nine more than the previous year, which speaks well for the

borrowers, considering the large increase in the number issued. The classification is as follows :—

Fiction	2,855
Travel	241
General Literature	222
Periodicals	189
History	182
Biography	125
Poetry and Drama	44
Natural History and animal stories	41
Science and Art	37
French Literature	5
	3,941

The thanks of the Society are due to Dr. Douglas and the Morrin College governors for their annual grants, which enabled the Society to keep the library supplied with the latest literature. Also to Arthur Veasey, Esq., for forty-four valuable works, and to Mr. Balch and our Honorary President.

Some interesting curios have been placed in the library; consisting of several ancient sword blades found at Lake St John and given to the Society by Captain J. A. Benyon. A hoisting hook taken from the gable of the old house forming the north corner of St. Peter, St. James and Sault-au-Matelot streets. This house has been demolished to make space for the erection of the Bank of Montreal's new premises; the hook and a photograph of the old house were presented to the Society by F. J. Cockburn, Esq., the Manager of the Quebec Branch.

A specially interesting trophy, consisting of two Mauser rifles taken from the Boers in the late war in South Africa, was sent to the Society by the Dominion Government.

A fine collection of Canadian postage stamps has been offered to the Society, on certain conditions, by Miss Charlotte Lloyd.

A generous member, Mr. F. McLennan, has handed five dollars to the Treasurer, to be the foundation of a fund for book-binding. There are a number of valuable books requiring to be rebound , also new ones which do not come otherwise than broché, and in that state are unfit to be issued to readers. It must be remembered that the expense of the

binding and repairs must come out of the general revenue of the Society, which still is insufficent to meet all the demands such as subscriptions to periodicals and newspapers, and the ordinary running expenses of the institution; hence it is to be hoped that the practical suggestion of this good member will be followed by the raising of a very necessary binding fund.

Transaction No. 26, containing Colonel Neilson's lecture on Slavery in Canada, is on the table, and will be followed by the Historical Document Series No. 8, concluding the papers relating to the Blockade of Quebec by the "Bostonnais," in 1775-76. A copy of each is at the disposal of members desirous of having these interesting brochures. Bulletin No. 3 was issued on the 24th of May, containing the library by-laws, and list of exchanges and periodicals, together with a classified list of all the books purchased and received since the last bulletin.

Respectfully submitted,

FRED. C WURTELE,

QUEBEC, 31st December, 1906.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Major Lampson and Major W. H. Davidson were appointed scrutineers and the election of officers took place and resulted as follows:—

Patron—His Excellency Earl Grey, Governor-General of Canada.

Vice-Patron—His Honor Sir Louis Jetté, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec.

Hon. President—James Douglas, D.C.L., Spuyten Duyvil, N.Y.

President—P. B. Casgrain, K.C.

Vice-Presidents—J. T. Ross, George W. Parmelee, D.C.L. Lieut.-Colonel J. F. Turnbull, Arch. Cook, K.C.

Treasurer—Jas. Geggie.

Recording-Secretary—Alex. Robertson, K.C.

Council Secretary—Wm. Clint.

Corresponding Secretary—Lieut.-Colonel Crawford Lindsay.

Librarian—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum—Phileas Gagnon.

Curator of Apparatus—Colonel H. Neilson.

Additional Members of Council—Simeon LeSage, Rev. F. G. Scott, F.R.S.C., LL.D., Major W. H. Davidson, K.C., Rev. P. M. O'Leary.

Presidents of the Literary and Historical Society

1824.....Sir N. F. Burton, Lt.-Governor.
1828.....Hon. Mr. Reid, Chief Justice.
1829.....Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R.N.
1830.....Hon. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice.
1831..... " " " " "
1832.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, K.C.
1833.....Hon. W. Sheppard.
1834..... " "
1835.....Joseph Skey, M.D.
1836.....Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D.
1837.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, K.C.
1838..... " " " "
1839.....Wm. Kelly, M.D., R.N.
1840..... " " " "
1841.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1842.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1843.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1844.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1845.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1846.....John C. Fisher, Esq., LL.D.
1847.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1848.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1849.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1850..... " " "
1851..... " " "
1852..... " " "
1853..... " " "
1854..... " " "
1855.....E. A. Meredith, Esq., M.A.
1856.....W. Andrew, Esq.
1857..... " " "
1858.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1859..... " " "
1860.....E. A. Meredith, Esq., M.A.
1861..... " " " "
1862.....John Langton, Esq., M.A.
1863..... " " " "
1864..... " " " "
1865..... " " " "

1866.....Com. E. D. Ashe, R.N.
1867..... " " "
1868.....Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D.
1869.....Prof. James Douglas.
1870.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1871.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq.
1872-3.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1873.....Com. E. D. Ashe, R.N., F.R.S.
1874.....Prof. James Douglas.
1875..... " "
1876.....James Stevenson, Esq.
1877..... " " "
1878..... " " "
1879.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq., F.R.S.C.
1880..... " " " "
1881..... " " " "
1882..... " " " "
1883.....Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.
1884..... " " "
1885.....G. Stewart, D.C.L., F.R.S.C., F.R.G.S.
1886..... " " " "
1887..... " " " "
1888..... " " " "
1889..... " " " "
1890..... " " " "
1891..... " " " "
1892.....Cyrille Tessier, Esq.
1893..... " " "
1894.....Archibald Campbell, Esq.
1895..... " " "
1896.....Rev. R. W. Norman, D.D., Dean of Quebec.
1897..... " " " " "
1898.....P. B. Casgrain, Esq.
1899..... " " "
1900.....William Wood, Esq.
1901..... " " "
1902.....Sir Jas. M. LeMoine, D.C.L., F.R.S.C.
1903..... " " " " "
1904.....Major William Wood, F.R.S.C.
1905..... " " " "
1906.....P. B. Casgrain, Esq.
1907..... " " "

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

FOUNDED IN 1824
Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831

PATRON:

His Excellency, The Right Hon. Earl Grey, G.C.M.G., Baron Grey of Howick, Governor-General of Canada.

VICE-PATRON:

Sir Louis A. Jette, K.C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor, Province of Quebec.

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The Earl of Aberdeen.
The Earl of Derby.
The Marquis of Lansdowne, G.C.M.G.
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Winship, Geo. Parker, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.

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Willis, Henry.
Watson, David.
Winn, Miss H. E.
Whitehead, A. B.
Wurtele, Lt.-Col. Ernest F.
Williams, Rev. G. H.
Welch, J. A.
Whitehead, Mrs.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Sharples, Hon. John.
Wurtele, Fred. C

BY AGREEMENT.

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Clint, J. H.
Breakey, John.
Gray, Lt.-Col. Frost Wood.
Miller, Archibald.
Geggie, D. H.

MacNider, James.
Cook, A. H.
Ross, J. Theodore.
Barclay, Rev. J., D.D., Montreal.
Clark, Revd. Wylie C.

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Between the Times of War

READ BEFORE THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, THE 26TH MARCH, 1907.

BY

Dr. J. M. HARPER

Canada has more than entered upon its greatest of growing times, though many of us may be too busy over our bread-and-butter operations to consider how history is only repeating itself for us for the moment. Between the Revolutionary War, which threatened to wean American colonists from their allegiance to Great Britain, and the American War of 1812, which brought about a quickening of patriotism to Canadians, there lapsed a period of a little less than forty years, just as since Confederation there has lapsed about the same number of years for us of the present generation. The hinterland of our country was then what is now called the Province of Ontario, just as the hinterland of our country is now the great North-West. Then, it was a time of filling in by immigration, just as it is now, with the fertility of the soils to the west of us as the great attraction—a preliminary harvesting of the finest of timber from the woodlands of Upper Canada, to be followed by a settling down to the independent calling of the farmer and a regular civilized way of living, just as now are being reaped overflowing harvests on the western wheat-lands, to be followed by commercial evolutions in which the roughnesses of primal colonization times are to disappear. The great waterway of the St. Lawrence was then to what was the hinterland of Canada in its colonizing endeavours, as the Canadian Pacific Railway has been to the great West, soon to be supplemented for the opening up of the country by

other transcontinental railway systems. And should we wish to round out the analogy, it may be as well to remember that these changes of more than a century ago were taking place while the French Revolution was maturing its renovating forces to the dethronement of the Capets, just as now our present growing time is maturing in presence of another kind of a revolution in France, almost as momentous in its character as was that at the close of the eighteenth century, having for its object the severance of traditional alliances between church and state.

By the time Sir Guy Carleton returned to Canada as Lord Dorchester in 1787, the tide of immigration had fully set in, from the east and south—the bulk of the newcomers being United Empire Loyalists. Previous to this time, the history of the city of Quebec had been the history of the country. And, when one wanders in and out among its modern civic improvements, the desire comes uppermost for the most part, to learn what the place looked like after having been sacked by Wolfe and threatened by Montgomery, with perhaps a side wish to trace, as I would this evening with the co-operation of the Rev. Mr. Clark, the status of our Protestant forerunners, during that fateful period of the very earliest interblending of French and British influences in the building up of the city.

The town was in a pitiable plight after that almost continuous attack for months by General James Wolfe. When the memorable siege of 1759 began, there were only about nine thousand of a militant and non-militant population in the place; and, when it was over, these poor people, sadly reduced in number, were in a state of abject poverty, until some settled way of earning a livelihood had been provided for them in the rebuilding of the town and the revival of trade. There were few of the houses along the lines of the streets, and none of the churches or public edifices that did not bear scars from the shot and shell of the invaders. The thoroughfares were lumbered and encumbered with all kinds of debris, and all but impassible save to foot passengers. Hundreds of the residences were barely inhabitable, the rich and poor huddling anywhere for shelter as after a great fire or an earthquake. The places of worship were overthrown or gutted. Trade was completely demoralized. In a word, poor old Quebec was a city that had to be rebuilt

almost from its very foundations, if it was ever again to hold up its head with pride as the permanent capital of the country.

To indulge in particulars, the little church of Notre Dame des Victoires, which every visitor still pays court to for what it commemorates, was all but a complete wreck. The Basilica and Bishop's Palace had not much more than their walls standing, the Bishop and his vicaire having to make a lodging house for themselves of the Seminary's kitchen. All that remained of the Intendant's Palace were its gaunt crumbling walls, windowless and begrimed with smoke. The chapels of the Recollets, the Jesuits, and the Seminaries were unfit for public worship to be held in them, and even the hospitals bore marks of the besiegers' activity.

And, when it is remembered that only sixteen years had been devoted to the restoration of the town, when Montgomery and Arnold came along to put violent hands on it again—before the fortifications were satisfactorily breach-proof, or the routine of living had been able to draw an easy breath after getting back to its business habits—was it any wonder that old James Thompson, the Citadel Engineer, and his men had to work night and day in patching up the approaches to the town, against the American invaders? Meantime, it has to be said, the public activities in connection with the rebuilding of the town and the preparations for the threatened siege, brought into the place many new residents, to the doubling of the population and the extending of the town proper into the suburbs of St. John and St. Roch.

And what of the Protestant section of the population at this time? At the date of the taking of the city, General Murray tells us that there were not more than nineteen Protestant families in the outer parishes of Quebec; and we wish he had gone further to tell us how many were in the town itself. He certainly had no very high opinion of some of the non-Catholic residents,whatever their number was, including as they did, traders, mechanics, halfpay officers, and disbanded soldiers. All these he candidly tells us—and we seem to be reading of the earliest days of the Klondyke and the Cobalt region, from his narrative—all these had their fortunes yet to make and were not very solicitous about the means to be adopted to gain such an end.

"I report them to be in general," he does not hesitate to say, "the most immoral collection of men I ever knew—little calculated to make His Majesty's new subjects enamoured of our laws, religion, and customs, and little adapted to enforce these laws which are to govern."

As far back as 1754, complaints had to be sent to France concerning the increase in the number of Protestant settlers in Canada. And a royal order was issued that a census should be taken of all such, giving the names, professions, the condition of their families, the time they had resided in the country and the character of their conduct as citizens. The same order counselled the Canadian authorities to expel all Protestants of foreign extraction from the country at once, the French Protestants to be dealt with by the Roman Catholic Bishop as he deemed best.

The records of that census, if it ever was made, would have been pertinently invaluable, at this probing into the very beginnings of a British interblending of interests in Canada social and commercial. Possibly Dr. Doughty, our keen-eyed archivist, may yet come across it. All that is further known of its possible existence is that, four years after the King's order had been issued to have it made, his Majesty desired to be informed, in his perplexity over counter reports from Canada, of the disposition and acts of the Protestant population in his trans-Atlantic possessions; he having been informed by the Bishop that their behaviour was anything but satisfactory, and by the Intendant that no complaints of any consequence had been made against them. The statement of Bigot, who, by the way, as everybody knows, was anything but morally fit to pass an opinion that was worth much, is quite explicit in its way. These religious dissentients, he claims, were peaceably submissive to the laws and the police, and were not given to hold any meetings as a set-off to their non-attendance at church, or as a disloyal interruption to public affairs. Moreover, as he further says, they have fourteen trading houses which carry on three parts of the trade of the country, and if they were to be driven out of the colony, the interests of the Province would greatly suffer, seeing the merchants of French origin are by no means numerous nor sufficiently rich to meet all emergencies. In a word, Bigot's despatch to the home au-

thorities ends quite diplomatically, if not humorously. "I will make out a list of the Protestants of foreign nationality" he says, "*if I can find any.*"

And it is well to remember Bigot's report concerning the Protestant or non-Catholic merchants of Quebec, while trying to locate the very earliest development of a Protestant interest in the place. The merchants of Lower Town were for the most part, even up to immediate pre-Confederation times, adherents to Protestantism directly or indirectly; and, when the colony came into British hands, steps were taken to secure a stated clergyman of the Protestant faith to look after the spiritual health of those of that persuasion.

From what is known, it is safe to say that the harvest was sadly in need of being cared for. There was much pioneering to be undertaken in bringing about a settled state of affairs, ethical, social and political, up to the time when Montgomery and Arnold came knocking at the gates of the town for admittance. The first demand for improvement came from the merchants of Lower Town, who were anything but pleased at the low intellectual standing and moral character of many of the men who had been authorized through British agencies, to assume the offices of state administration. The civilizing agencies, that spring naturally from a permanency of living amid the routines of life, had been getting in their work, silently and continuously as they always do, between the times of war and political unrest. There is a gospel of harmony being preached all the time by the communal interest. The merchant of Lower Town had not at this period overmuch, perhaps, of the highest morality and respectability to boast of; but he none the less took it ill that, instead of men of talent and a fair degree of respectability of character, the very reverse were appointed to the most important of the political offices of the colony. It has been said that one of the judges appointed to try criminal cases had been a jail-bird himself, ignorant and illiterate, and utterly incapable of administering the laws of the land. Many of the offices had been filled through the issue of letters-patent to certain loose fish of the court life of St. James, only to be sub-let to even looser fish who had not the manners of a coxswain or a cowboy. And it was no doubt on this account that not a few of the citizens of Quebec were to be found thinking that it would be no very serious loss to

the community in point of morality nor of trading respectability, were the colony to fall a prey to the American invaders.

Whether King George had cognizance of the blending that had to be provided for in Quebec under such adverse circumstances, during this earliest of growing times under British rule in Canada, as our King Edward has no doubt had of the blending that has been started, and has yet to be accomplished, among the thousands crowding for a home out West, it is not for any one to say. But it is certain that Lord Dorchester, during his governor-generalship received definite instructions, as if direct from his royal master, "that in order to suppress every species of vice, profaneness, and immorality in the colony, he forthwith should cause to be put in force all laws already enacted against blasphemy, adultery, polygamy, profanation of the Lord's Day, and drunkenness in every part of the province." Nay, from what follows in the full body of the message, it looks as if reports, all but as uncomplimentary as General Murray's, had reached government circles in London, referring to the unsettled condition of morality and social order in the city and in the townships adjoining, before any Protestant church had been built anywhere in the province.

"It is also the will and pleasure of the king" says the order in question, "that you do direct the constables and churchwardens of the several parishes to make presentment on oath of any of the vices before mentioned to the Justices of the Peace in session, or to any other of the temporal courts; that effectual laws be provided for the restraint and punishment of the said vices, when new laws are required or present laws are found to be insufficient; and that you appoint no person to be a Justice of the Peace or to any Crown Trust or employment whose notoriously ill life or conversation may occasion scandal." From such a glimpse of affairs as has been given in this short article it can readily be seen how interesting a study there is in the annals of this period between the times of war, from 1759 to 1812.

The turn in the tide of Protestant evangelistic developments in Quebec had not been fully reached, it is needless to say, until arrangements had been made for the erection of

a Scottish Kirk and an Anglican Cathedral. And this turn in events seems to have been reached by fire.

Quebec has been visited from time to time by calamitous fires. The destruction by fire of the Chapelle de la Recouvrance, built by Champlain himself, led to the erection of our present Basilica, and it was also a fire that led to the erection of our present Anglican Cathedral, within the precincts of the old Church and Monastery of the Franciscan Brotherhood of the Recollets.

It was in 1796 that these two buildings were destroyed by the devouring element. A careless negro stable-boy had been philandering one day with gun-powder in his master's barn, that adjoined the garden of the Recollets. The barn was soon in flames, and finally a fagot from the burning outbuilding lodged in the belfry of the chapel near by. Every effort was made by the Recollets, assisted by the clergy of the adjacent Presbytery, to save the sacred edifice, but all without avail. The few members of the unfortunate Recollets—all that remained of a once flourishing mission—were thrown out on the world homeless. They had no means of rebuilding. And, when the order in Canada was finally broken up, their lands were handed over to the Governor-General as escheat to the Crown.

For a time, in terms of a royal edict, the Anglican Church in Canada was within the jurisdiction of one sole and supreme ecclesiastic, namely, the Bishop of Nova Scotia. In 1793 Lord Dorchester returned to Canada, this time bringing out his wife and family to reside in Quebec. And in the same year, and about the same time of the year—the last week in September—Dr. Jacob Mountain also arrived with his family in the Ancient Capital. With a resident governor and bishop, and the social influences begotten of the etiquette of colonial state, and ecclesiastical restraint, Quebec began to reach out towards something a little in advance of the bird-of-passage way of living. And we all know how reaching out towards respectability gives a wholesome tendency towards the moral and church-going habit.

The early experiences of the good Bishop Mountain, unexpected as many of them must have been to a prelate just arrived from England—are fully recorded in his memoirs. For eleven years he had to content himself with very inferior

accommodation for the holding of public worship, agreeing, it is said, with the Recollets, to share wth them their chapel, which was situated where the Court House of Quebec now stands. After the burning down of the buildings belonging to the order of the Recollects and the disbanding of that brotherhood in Canada, the property, which now includes the spacious courtyard of the Anglican Cathedral, was escheat to the Crown; and thus it came about that the present building was erected on these grounds at the expense of the British Government, and vested in the hands of the Anglicans of Quebec and their first Bishop. Thus was a first step taken to give Protestantism "a local habitation and place," within the precincts of the *Ancient Capital*, alongside of whatever results had been realized through the missionary efforts of the Rev. George Henry, the Presbyterian military chaplain, who was the Rev. Dr. Spark's immediate predecessor, and of the Presbyterian enterprise of erecting old St. Andrews. The Rev. Mr. Clark of Chalmers Church is to follow me this evening, in giving an account of the labours of the Rev. Dr. Spark, and the earliest movements in connection with the Presbyterian interest in Quebec; and it may not be out of place for me to say, that when Dr. Jacob Mountain arrived in Quebec in 1793, he found Mr. Brooke, an Anglican Missionary, labouring in the field. Indeed, before his arrival there had been no less than three Anglican pastors labouring successively in Quebec—the last of whom, the Rev. Mr. Toosey, having been appointed Rector of the parish by the Bishop of Nova Scotia, four years before Bishop Mountain was nominated Bishop of Quebec.

The residents of to-day in Quebec can guage fairly well the religious life of the city from the sympathies among the churches and their prosperity. Fennings Taylor tells us that "the Anglican Bishop was met, on his arrival, by the Gallican Bishop, who made him welcome with a kiss on both cheeks." This goes to indicate that there was to be peace among the churches of Quebec, with no restraint to be put upon Protestant denominationalism; and the fact remains that six years after the opening of the Anglican Cathedral, the Presbyterians had built St. Andrew's Church in 1810, and St. John's Church as well in 1815, while the Methodists opened their first meeting-house in 1817. The times were growing. Quebec was a busy garrison town,

with its walls and gateways still at the building and rebuilding and the lumber trade and ship-building industry at their earlier activity. Indeed, one would like to know something of the personality of the church-goers who were present at Cathedral inauguration services of 1804, when the Bishop was presented with the letters-patent which made over to him and his co-religionists the property of the disbanded Recollects. The population of the place at the time numbered fifteen thousand or so. The wealth of the city, outside of the Church property was, for the most part, in the hands of the military, the government officials and the few lumber merchants and master shipbuilders. Quebec was still in large measure a community of transiency; and yet there was a foresight worthy of the highest admiration in the project of erecting a large and substantial edifice suitable for these hundred years that have since transpired —an edifice which, with sundry renovations and additions, such as the Rectory, All Saint's Chapel, and the Church Hall, presents to-day the massive architectural aspects of a Cathedral Church, a monument of the influence of the English-speaking citizens of Quebec during the growing period between the times of war of 1759 and 1812.

The Early Presbyterianism of Quebec under Dr. Spark

READ BEFORE THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, THE 26TH MARCH, 1907.

BY

Rev. WYLIE C. CLARK, B.A., B.D.

When the city was captured by General Wolfe, the population of the province was about 70,000, nearly all of whom were Roman Catholic. In 110 rural parishes there were only 19 Protestants. General Murray reported the Roman Catholics to be frugal, industrious, moral and religious, but very ignorant. Of the Protestants he said: "I report them to be in general the most immoral collection of men I ever knew, of course, little calculated to make new subjects enamoured with our laws, religion and customs, and far less adapted to enforce those laws which are to govern them." It may truly be said of these men, that they were rather infidels than Protestants, because their religion did nothing to elevate their characters or to render useful their lives.

With the fall of the city, came a new era, as a new element was at once introduced into the life of the province. The Scotch and British regiments brought men not only of different speech, but also of different religions, and having with them their chaplains. Protestant services were held within the city immediately after the conquest.

The first service of the Presbyterian church was conducted by the Rev. Mr. McPherson of the Fraser Highlanders, in his official capacity as Chaplain of the regiment. Soon after the conquest a congregation was organized in the city, and was granted the privilege of worshipping in an apartment of the Jesuit's College. The Rev. George Henry became the first pastor of the congregation in 1765, and thus was the first settled minister of the Presbyterian faith in

the province. Mr. Henry was an able minister of the gospel, and in a godly life of benevolence and goodness aided much to call the Protestant elements of the city to a higher standard of living.

The real founder, however, of Presbyterianism in Quebec was the Rev. Alexander Spark, D.D. In a growing city, or in a new country, blessed is the church who has a leader with all the qualities of noble leadership. In the declining years of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alexander Spark was a tutor to the children of Sir John Caldwell at Belmont. In him some of the members of the congregation saw one who would, if the promises of his youth were fulfilled, ably fill their pulpit and represent their denomination in the city. So he went back to Scotland, was ordained and returned and took up the work in 1785.

Upon the new Minister fell the duty of attending to the needs of his own people amidst the trials, temptations and discouragements of a new land; but this was only a small part of what he gave to the community. Like all Scotchmen of his day he was conscious of the power of education and identified himself with every movement to obtain for the children a better system of schools. He willingly gave of his time to render assistance to any ambitious youth striving towards a college course, and never missed an opportunity to impress upon the public in general the necessity of giving marked attention to the improvement of the means to provide schools for all.

As a member of society, Dr. Spark took an active part in the public life of the city and whether upon the platform or in the social function he was called on to represent his denomination he could be trusted to do it in such a way as not to give offence to the most critical.

In his sermons (many in manuscript form are in the possession of relatives) he showed hmself a fine classical scholar, a good exegete and a fair logician. He was somewhat metaphysical at times, yet frequently became very practical, demanding the results of Christian belief in honesty, truthfulness and charity. His diary shows he had a love for science and twice each day he recorded the readings of the thermometer and barometer, this being even done on the day of his death.

In our day of tolerance and good feeling we can scarcely realize how far we have travelled since those days of beginnings, when the argument was keen and the fight bitter in all religious questions. The strong ever sought to dominate the weak, and the weak to plot against the strong. It was not uncommon for even "members of the cloth" to finish a wordy dispute with the fists. Through all this Dr. Spark carried himself with the dignity of the Christian gentleman not as a weakling but as a strong, fair fighter for what he honestly held to be the rights of his denomination.

One of the things essential to the prosperity of a denomination in any place is to have a house of worship of its own. Realizing this, Dr. Spark endeavoured to secure a lot of land upon which to erect a church. In 1802 a petition bearing 148 signatures was addressed to King George III. In the same year letters patent were issued, granting a lot of ground on Anne street, for the erection of a place of worship. Eight years later, on November 3rd, the new building was opened and dedicated under the name of St. Andrew's Church, the congregation before this having been known as the Scotch Church. After the opening of the new church the congregation increased rapidly and became one of the strong influences for better morality in the city.

During these years there had been settlements of Highlanders made along the St. Lawrence. These were ever in the heart of Dr. Spark. He knew how they longed for the word of life and how bravely they struggled to keep the fires on the family altar glowing; but he also knew that unless some one could be found to minister to them, the time would come when they would fall from the faith of their fathers. The religious struggles among these settlements were pathetic and heart breaking. Here was the new-born infant and no man of God to give it the sacrament of Baptism. There lay the young maiden in the cold arms of death and no comforting voice to bring the consolation of Heaven and commit the body to the grave with sacred rites. Fathers gave their daughters to the men who had won their love, without the performing of the marriage ceremony, exacting the promise that they would be wedded the first time a minister should come to the settlement. From time to time Dr. Spark applied to the old land for men to man these places; but all to no purpose. At different pe-

riods he himself went down the River, baptized the children and married couples who had been living together for years. But gradually, what he had foreseen happened. The Priest was human and offered consolation to the afflicted, and in zeal for his church, coupled with the pity of his heart for the people who were destitute of religious service, he did his best. At first they kept him at arm's length, viewing him with suspicion; but at last, almost reluctantly, they accepted his services until their descendants spoke the French language and worshipped according to the Roman Catholic faith. From the fate of these settlements and the warnings of Dr. Spark and others, the Presbyterian Church learned a never-to-be-forgotten lesson, and is striving to-day, with all its energies to follow her sons and daughters into every corner of the great settling West.

At the early age of 57, Dr. Spark was called from the scene of his strenuous labours to his eternal reward. He preached in the morning, and having attended a funeral service, he was ascending the hill to the afternoon meeting in the church. Before he reached the top he was stricken, and thus was spared the frailties of age or the languishing of long illness.

A loving people have placed a tablet in St. Andrew's Church, which gives in brief outline the history of his life. A grateful church looks back to him as one of its great pioneers and returns thanks to God for the mighty men who stood in the hard places and failed not.

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OF QUEBEC

SESSIONS OF 1908-09

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1909

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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
13TH JANUARY 1909

The annual general meeting was held on the 13th January, 1909, in the Rooms of the Society, at ten a.m. Dr. G. W. Parmelee, President, occupied the chair, and there were present: Messrs. C. Tessier, Col. Neilson, Dr. Harper, S. Lesage, E. T. D. Chambers, F. Lampson, W. Clint, D. H. Geggie, J. T. Ross, Col. Turnbull, Rev. F. G. Scott, John Hamilton, J. Brown, James Geggie, Capt. Boulton, P. Gagnon, A. Robertson, D. Watson, M. de Preston, P. B. Casgrain, A. H. Cook, Rev. A. T. Love.

After routine proceedings the President read the report of the Council for the past year as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1908

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society has to report a year of unusual success in several directions. The outstanding feature of the year has been the culmination of a long and uninterrupted series of benefactions from Dr. J. Douglas, the Honorary President of the Society. As you all know, he has for some years given, apart from minor contributions, the sum of $500 annually to be expended in the purchase of books and in the publication of Historical Documents. On his last visit to the Society as lecturer last winter, he suggested a commutation of his annual contribution which he undoubtedly all along intended to be a permanent annual gift. Through Col. Neilson as intermediary, Dr. Douglas conveyed the sum of $10,000 to the Society by notarial deed on the 5th of May, 1908, constituting thereby John Theodore Ross, Esq., and A. H.

Cook, Esq., trustees, with full power to invest and to administer these funds, and to account for the dividends to the Society.

This magnificent gift was duly accepted by the Society, and suitable acknowledgement was made to the generous donor.

This endowment places the Society in such a sound financial condition that the Society may expect not only to continue the good work of the past, but to enlarge it in many ways in the near future.

In respect of finances, upon which so much depends, the Society has improved its position notably during the past decade. The generous legacy of the late Mrs. Turnbull, in 1904, of $5,000, brought the endowment over $8,000 so that the Society will have dividends in the future on about $18,000.

It is fitting that reference should be made to the continued good will of the Governors of Morrin College, to whom the Society is indebted for the use of its rooms free of charge, and for the continued annual contribution of $250 towards our current expenses.

Negotiations are under way by which it is expected that the room known as the Aylwin Library Room will be put in order and secured for the use of the Society, with the Aylwin books.

Another annual meeting will probably have a report to the effect that the proposed scheme has been carried out. This will nearly double our floor space and will make our Library and Rooms compare very favorably with those in other cities similar in population to Quebec.

LECTURES

It is perhaps not too much to say that in the number and character of the lectures provided last winter the Society has never been more fortunate. The opening lecture was delivered by Mr. P. B. Casgrain, President at the time, and was succeeded by lectures given by Prof. Colby, of McGill, Prof. Wrong, of Toronto University, Dr. Douglas,

J. B. Hance, Prof. Cox, of McGill, the Rev. Dr. Barclay and Sir Charles Fitzpatrick. Captain Boulton's lecture, delivered on the 4th of this month naturally falls into the lecture course which is being prepared for the present season under arrangements similar to those of last winter. You will have noticed that the invitations to these lectures were issued in the joint name of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College. This was because of the fact that the Governors generously undertook to pay all the expenses that were incurred by securing lecturers from a distance and in giving them a reasonable remuneration. On this account the joint lecture committee of Morrin College and the Society were able to secure men who could hardly have been expected otherwise to come to Quebec.

Although the membership of the Society, considering the advantages it offers, still leaves something to be desired, it is satisfactory to note the fact that the net accession to our membership this year amounts to twenty-six. The new members are thirty-five in number, and the losses by death and removal are nine.

It is interesting and encouraging to note that while in the year 1902 the fees collected from members amounted to only $390, since then there has been a regular increase year by year, until now the Treasurer reports the receipts from this source as $621. Although it has always been the policy of the Society to keep the fees at a nominal rate in order to make the Library practically a public library, the additional income from this source is a welcome addition to the funds of the Society, but it is even more a gratifying indication of the appreciation shown by the citizens of Quebec of the work the Society endeavors to accomplish.

It is known to all Quebecers that this city has the distinction of claiming the first steamship, the "Royal William," that ever crossed the Atlantic wholly under its own steam. Last year Mr. F. C. Wurtele heard of an oil painting of this steamship in England which had been made from the object. Knowing that Dr. Douglas was soon going to England, Mr. Wurtele asked him to examine the painting. The result was that Dr. Douglas purchased the painting and presented it to the Society through Mr. Wurtele.

Valuable historically and intrinsically as the painting is, from a personal point of view more interest will be taken by the members of the Society in the portrait of Dr. Douglas, which the Council has hung in the Rooms.

Col. Neilson has been the fortunate possessor of the prayer-book of the celebrated missionary to the Indians, Pere Marquette, which had been translated into the Indian tongue, and which Pere Marquette had used for many years in his wilderness parish. This prayer-book has been reproduced in fac-simile as to the pages and bound, with the arms of the Society, at the expense of Dr. Douglas. To the Society he has given some 250 copies, which are to be used for exchange with learned societies, and for gift to distinguished persons to whom the Society may wish to return a compliment.

Your Council considered very carefully many schemes for participating in the Tercentenary Celebrations of the memorable summer last year, but unfortunately for us the magnitude of the preparations made by the Tercentenary Committee with their almost unlimited financial resources was such as to make the Council feel the inadequacy of anything within the limits of its powers.

However, special care was taken to offer the hospitality of the rooms to any who should like to visit them, and a certain expense was incurred in conjunction with Morrin College and St. Andrew's Society to illuminate the building in a fitting manner.

At the end of last month the Council was invited to send delegates to a meeting in Washington of the American Historical Association. The Council was fortunate in being represented at the meeting by the Honorary President, Dr. Douglas, and by Col. Neilson who has made an interesting report of the proceedings.

So far this report has been one of progress and satisfaction. It remains to introduce a note of sorrow.

Since our last annual meeting four members of the Society have passed beyond the veil, leaving behind them memories of integrity, ability, and character beyond the common. Quebec as a whole, as well as this Society, mourns

the loss of F. H. Andrews, William Brodie, William Simmons and Justice Blanchet.

The whole respectfully submitted.

G. W. PARMELEE,
President

A. ROBERTSON,
Recording-Secretary

Quebec, 13th January, 1909.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Mr. James Geggie presented his Annual Report as Treasurer, which showed a balance to the credit of the various accounts of $1,205.82. Members' subscriptions amounted to $671.00. The annual grant of $250 to the Book Fund was received from Morrin College, the Governors of which also granted the Society the use of the Rooms rent free.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

The Report of the Librarian, Mr. E. T. D. Chambers, was as follows:—

At the last annual meeting of the Literary and Historical Society it was a matter of much gratification to your Honorary Librarian to be able to refer to the year then just ended as one of almost unexampled progress. In support of this statement it was shown that the issue of books from the Library for that year reached the large number of 4592 volumes, against 3941 in the twelve months preceding. Without any very large increase in the membership of the Society, these figures were very gratifying. How much more so, therefore, is the record for 1908, showing a circulation during the year of 5130 volumes!

Notwithstanding this large increase in the issue of books from the Library, it is eminently satisfactory to note that only 161 of the books at present in circulation have been out of the Library more than the prescribed period of two weeks.

The following classification may be made of the books issued from the Library during the past year.—

Fiction	3,390
History	554
Biography	404
Sport and Travel	308
Science and Art	42
Poetry	86
General Literature	256
Magazines	90
Total	5,130

The fact that nearly two-thirds of the books issued from the Library have to be classified as fiction affords some food for reflection.

The Editor of Harper's Magazine recently reported that statements received from a number of English and American Librarians indicated somewhat of a falling off in novel reading, and without any intention of sermonizing it may be permitted to your Librarian to point out to the younger frequenters of the library that there is romance enough for every healthy taste in the carefully selected works of history, biography, science, sport and travel, constantly being added to our shelves, and of a character that seldom leaves a bitter taste behind. As far as it is possible to do so every precaution is taken to ensure a clean selection of the fiction so much in demand, and which has been tolerated by the Society for the last few years; but it is constantly borne in mind in the purchase of new books that the Society was chartered for purposes of literary, historical and scientific research, and to works that may fairly be classified under these heads our grants for new books are mainly devoted.

The Library has been enriched during the year by the ad-

dition of 242 volumes by purchase, and of 68 bound volumes by donation and exchange, making a total addition to our shelves of 310 volumes altogether, exclusive of 225 unbound donations and exchanges.

A large number of English works ordered some time before the end of the year has been expected for some time past.

The Society has been extremely fortunate in many of the donations of books received by it during the year. By one of our corresponding members, George Parkin Winship, Esq., of Providence R. I., we have been presented with a reprint of the Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois, of which the original was printed in Philadelphia in 1772: a very rare biographical item, being No. 13 of an edition of 100 copies.

Mr. John T. Ross has placed us under deep obligations by his very handsome gifts of two remarkable sets of books, namely sixteen volumes of Italian Literature published by the Grolier Society, and nine volumes of the History of India, issued by the National Alumni. Both of these works are veritable editions de luxe, and to a due appreciation of the value of their contents it is a pleasure to add our testimony to the perfect triumph of the bookmaker's art achieved in their printing and binding. Upon the acceptable character of such gifts it is unnecessary to enlarge.

Professor George W. Wrong, of Toronto University, generously sent me for presentation to the Society, volume I of Lescarbot's History of New France, in the elegant edition recently issued by the Champlain Society.

From the Rev. A. T. Love we have received a copy of the memorial volume of St. Andrew's Church.

On behalf of the Misses Nettle, of Ottawa, I was requested to present to the Society the handsome portrait of their late father, Richard Nettle, a former well-known Quebecer, the author of the "Salmon Fisheries of the St. Lawrence," and the father of Fish Culture in Canada. These ladies also sent us five volumes of the Library of Choice Literature.

G. M. Fairchild, Esq., presented the Society with the bound volume of the Quebec Mercury for 1838, one of the

most eventful years of the century in this province. The volume had previously belonged to the Society, but was "lost, strayed, or stolen" many years ago, and lately came by purchase, with other papers, into Mr. Fairchild's possession.

Our President, Dr. Parmelee, has given us a photograph of Duberger's model of Quebec, and to Colonel Lindsay we are indebted for a volume of the "Journal of American History."

Others from whom we have received donations for the Library and Museum are Messrs. Phileas Gagnon, who presented a copy of the last bulletin of the Geographical Society of Quebec, containing several valuable papers on Champlain ; Georges Roy who again sent us his interesting Bulletin Recherches Historiques; A. Gagnon, to whom we are indebted for two volumes of L'Amerique Precolombienne; F. C. Wurtele who has supplied us with the Diocesan Gazette, the New York State Museum which has sent us more of its memoirs, and an unknown donor from whom we have received a work entitled "Outlines of Theosophy."

It is not surprising that the Champlain Tercentenary Celebration of last summer caused a noticeable demand for reading matter dealing with early Canadian History, and it is gratifying to note that some of our reference books proved of considerable assistance to the workers in the Pageant, and in some of the other features of the celebration.

And finally, duty and gratitude alike make it incumbent upon the undesigned to emphasize the indebtedness of the Library to Dr. Douglas and the Governors of Morrin College, for the special grants of money given by them for the purchase of new books, without which the additions to our shelves would be small indeed.

The whole respectfully submitted.

E. T. D. CHAMBERS,
Hon. Librarian.

Quebec, 13th January, 1909.

The foregoing reports were then, on motion, adopted and ordered to be printed.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Captain Boulton and Mr. de Preston having been requested to act as scrutineers the meeting proceeded to ballot for Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following results:—

Hon. President—James Douglas, D.C.L., Spuyten Duyvil, N.Y.

Hon. Vice-President—Sir James M. Le Moine, D.C.L., F.R.S.C.

President—G. W. Parmelee, D.C.L.

Vice-Presidents — J. T. Ross, Col. J. F. Turnbull, A. H. Cook, K.C., Dr. J. M. Harper.

Treasurer—Jas. Geggie.

Recording-Secretary—A. Robertson, K.C.

Council Secretary—W. Clint.

Corresponding Secretary — Lieut.-Colonel Crawford Lindsay.

Librarian—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum—Phileas Gagnon.

Curator of Apparatus—Col. H. Neilson.

Additional Members of Council—Rev. P. M. O'Leary, Rev. F. G. Scott, D.C.L., F.R.S.C., S. Lesage, John Hamilton, D.C.L.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

12th January, 1910.

The Annual General Meeting was held on the 12th January, 1910, in the Rooms of the Society at ten a.m. Dr. G. W. Parmelee, the President, occupied the chair and there were present:—Messrs. P. B. Casgrain, John Hamilton, Rev. F. G. Scott, Col. Wood, Dr. Harper, A. Robertson, E. T. D. Chambers, P. Gagnon, C. Tessier, W. Clint, Col. Neilson, James Geggie, A. H. Cook, J. G. Scott, D. Watson, H. Price, W. C. J. Hall, Major Davidson, F. Carrel, T. Aylwin, A. Joseph, F. C. Wurtele, Rev. A. T. Love, Major Morgan, C. de Preston, Capt. Boulton, M. Anderson, J. B. Hance, M. Macadam.

After routine proceedings the President read the report of the Council for the past year as follows.—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1909

The Council of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society has the honour to submit the following report upon the work accomplished during the year that has just closed.

Not much of an unusual nature has occurred during the past year, but on the whole the progress of the Society has been satisfactory. There has been a slight increase in membership, we having lost 11 during the year and gained 16. This makes a net gain of 5 and brings the total membership to 174.

Considering our limited constituency and the fact that all the members of a family have the privileges of our library when the head thereof is a subscriber, the advantages we have to offer are pretty widely used. However, there is still room for an expansion of our membership list.

During the year this Society has become a member of the recently formed Champlain Society, whose yearly publications will hereafter be received. All the publications from the inception of that Society to the present time have been received and are on our shelves. It is a matter of gratification to us that one of our own members and past presidents, Col. Wood, is responsible for an important volume in the works of the Champlain Society, and is engaged on another.

Your Council was invited last June to extend some welcome and hospitality to the members of the International Council of Women who, to the number of one hundred, passed through Quebec on their way from the British Isles, Europe, and Australia to the quadrennial meeting which was held in Toronto. A Committee, consisting of Col. Turnbull, Col. Wood and the President, organized a reception of the distinguished guests under the Presidency of Her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen at a luncheon at the Chateau Frontenac. The guests were met at the docks, were driven around the City, taken to Montmorency by train, and at the end of the day were conveyed to the train without any expense to themselves. Although the members of the Committee felt that it was an honour for the Society to be so well known as to be entrusted with such a task, they thought that the Society itself should not be called upon to meet the expenses necessarily incurred thereby. Accordingly an appeal was made to the City Council, which was supported by the Mayor, Sir George Garneau, and resulted in a contribution of $250. The balance was generously contributed by the following persons to whom the thanks of the Council are hereby tendered.—Col. J. F. Turnbull, Mr. H. M. Price, Col. Neilson, Col. Wm. Wood, Dr. Geo. Parmelee and Alderman P. Campbell.

Your President received and accepted an invitation to deliver an address before the International Council in Toronto, when he was gratified to hear from many sources the liveliest expressions of gratitude for the reception in Quebec, and words of praise for the opportunity of visiting the chief historical city of Canada.

It will be remembered that Dr. Douglas undertook last year to publish a fac-simile of the well-known Pére Marquette Prayer Book that was in possession of Col. Neilson and to give it to the Society for distribution as a memorial of the Tercentennial. The distribution has now been made to Universities, to a few distinguished individuals and to those learned societies from which we have received valuable exchanges in the past.

It is well-known that the late Judge Aylwin bequeathed to the Governors of Morrin College his large and valuable library, consisting not only of law books, but of classical and general works, some of them now quite rare. Recently the Governors of Morrin College have fitted up a spacious room adjacent to this and have had the books placed upon shelves. At present a catalogue is being made. Although this library is not under the control of the Literary and Historical Society it may be said that negotiations are now under way by which it is expected that the members of this Society will have free access to the Aylwin Library and to the books therein.

The continued and practical interest in this Society was shown last year not only by a direct contribution from the Governors of Morrin College to the general funds of the Society, but by a special contribution which enabled the joint lecture committee of the two bodies to invite distinguished lecturers from a distance to address the citizens of Quebec in this building. The Council is glad to report that a course of lectures under similar arrangements is provided for this season.

The Council has thought for some time that the insurance carried upon the Library and its contents was altogether inadequate, and in consequence it has increased the policies form $6,500. to $16,500 quite recently.

It will have been noticed that several portraits have been hung upon the walls of this building during the past few months. This is in pursuance of a plan to leave some permanent memorial, before it is too late, of the distinguished past presidents of this Society from the first, the Hon. Chief Justice Johathan Sewell, down to such of the past presidents as will allow themselves to be so honoured while living.

The financial condition of the Society is now stronger than it has ever been before in its history. The most recent benefaction, that of Dr. Douglas of $10,000, which was reported at the last annual meeting, is now producing returns to the amount of $480 yearly, $9,000 being invested and $887.50 being still to invest.

Since our last meeting four members of this Society have passed over to the silent majority. Dr. Colin Sewell, whose family name has been on our roll of membership for the past 86 years and whose own place in the affections of the citizens of Quebec was unique, Mr. Simeon LeSage whose interest in all that pertained to history and literature was well-known to members of this Society, Mr. Armitage Rhodes and Mr. David Rea, all are men whose loss we deeply deplore.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

G. W. PARMELEE,
President

A. ROBERTSON,
Recording Secretary

Quebec, 12th January, 1910.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

Mr. James Geggie presented his Annual Report as Treasurer.

It showed a balance to the credit of the Society of $1,059.72. Subscriptions from members $665.00. Disbursements for Magazines and Periodicals $192.55, and for new books $535.81.

The Governors of Morrin College kindly allowed the Society the use of the Rooms free of rent.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

The report of the Librarian Mr. E. T. D. Chambers was as follows:—

For the last two years your Librarian has been so fortunate as to be able to report unprecedented activity in the work of the Library and a largely increased issue of books from its shelves. Two years ago it was shown that the circulation for the preceding year had reached the large number of 4592 volumes, against 3941 reported twelve months before. Last year the report showed a still larger increase, making a total output of books circulated during the year, of 5,130. Still larger and more gratifying is the progress which has been made during the year just ended, the circulation showing a total issue of 6,167 volumes, or an increase over the preceding year of no less than 1,037 books.

In fiction, 4,503 volumes were issued in 1909, as compared with 3,390 in 1908; history shows a falling off from 554 to 367, and biography from 404 to 324. On the other hand there has been a largely increased demand for books on almost every other subject of major importance in such a library as ours, and especially for those pertaining to general literature, the issue of which has increased from 256 to 346. A good increased demand is noticeable for books on sport and travel and science and art.

It is very satisfactory to note that the number of books now out of the library for over two weeks is only 207 out of the 6,167 issued during the year, a rather smaller proportion than last year.

Apart from the usual unbound exchanges from sister societies, and others, we have to acknowledge 62 bound volumes of exchanges and donations, while 445 volumes have been added to the library by purchase, against 242 during the preceding year.

Our thanks are due to Mr. D. C. Thomson for a splendid Gallery of Illustrations of Shakespeare's works, to Professor Wrong for the Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada, for 1908, to Judge McCorkill for a copy of the History of Brome county, to Colonel B. A.

Scott for three old sword blades, to Mr. F. C. Wurtele for the Diocesan Gazette for 1909, to Mr. P. Gagnon for a copy of Quebec il y a cent ans, to Mr. P. G. Roy for the Bulletin Recherches Historiques for 1909, to the late Mr. David Rae for the Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers, to Mr. David Mitchell for a bound volume of the Weekly Chronicle, to Mr. F. McLennan for a copy of The Struggle for Imperial Unity, by Col. Denison, to the Chronicle Printing Company for the bound volume of the Chronicle for 1905, to Mr. F. A. Chisholm for "Joseph Howe—a sketch," to Mr. J. M. Fisher for the Perfect Way, and to other individuals and institutions, who have favored us with contributions to the Library, some of them, anonymously.

But more than to anybody else is the Society indebted to the Governors of Morrin College and to Dr. James Douglas, to whose liberality is mainly due the great bulk of the additions to the Library, irrespective altogether of their many other benefactions to the institution.

The whole, nevertheless, respectfully submitted.

E. T. D. CHAMBERS,
Hon. Librarian.

Quebec, January 12th, 1910.

The foregoing reports were then, on motion, adopted and ordered to be published.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Mr. Wurtele and Major Davidson having been requested to act as scrutineers, the meeting proceeded to ballot for Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result .—

Hon. President — James Douglas, LL.D., Spuyten Duyvil, N.Y.

Hon. Vice-President—Sir James M. LeMoine, D.C.L., F.R.S.C.

President—John Hamilton, D.C.L.

Vice-Presidents—Col. J. F. Turnbull, J. T. Ross, B.A., Dr. J. M. Harper, A. H. Cook, K.C.

Treasurer—James Geggie.

Recording Secretary—A. Robertson, K.C.

Council Secretary—W. Clint.

Corresponding Secretary—Lt.-Col. Crawford Lindsay.

Librarian—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum—Phileas Gagnon.

Curator of Apparatus—Col. H. Neilson.

Additional Members of Council—Rev. F. G. Scott, D.C.L., F.R.S.C., Major W. H. Davidson, Rev. P. M. O'Leary, F. C. Wurtele.

PAST PRESIDENTS OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1824.....Sir N. F. Burton, Lt.-Governor.
1828.....Hon. Mr. Reid, Chief Justice.
1829.....Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R.N.
1830.....Hon. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice.
1831..... " " " " "
1832.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, K.C.
1833.....Hon. W. Sheppard.
1834..... " "
1835.....Joseph Skey, M.D.
1836.....Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D.
1837.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, K.C.
1838..... " " " "
1839.....Wm. Kelly, M.D., R.N.
1840..... " " " "
1841.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1842.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1843.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1844.....G. B. Faribault.
1845.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1846.....John C. Fisher, LL.D.
1847.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1848.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1849.....G. B. Faribault.
1850..... " "
1851..... " "
1852..... " "
1853..... " "
1854..... " "
1855.....E. A. Meredith, M.A.
1856.....W. Andrew.
1857..... " "
1858.....G. B. Faribault.
1859..... " "
1860.....E. A. Meredith, M.A.
1861..... " " "
1862.....John Langton, M.A.
1863..... " " "
1864..... " " "
1865..... " " "
1866.....Com. E. D. Ashe, R.N.
1867..... " " "
1868.....Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D.
1869.....Prof. James Douglas.
1870.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1871.....J. M. LeMoine.
1872-3.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1873.....Com. E. D. Ashe, R.N., F.R.S.
1874.....Prof. James Douglas.
1875..... " " "

1876.....James Stevenson.
1877..... " "
1878..... " "
1879.....J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C.
1880..... " " "
1881..... " " "
1882..... " " "
1883.....Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.
1884..... " " "
1885.....G. Stewart, D.C.L., F.R.S.C., F.R.G.S.
1886..... " " " "
1887..... " " " "
1888..... " " " "
1889..... " " " "
1890..... " " " "
1891..... " " " "
1892.....Cyrille Tessier
1893..... " "
1894.....Archibald Campbell.
1895..... " "
1896.....Rev. R. W. Norman, D.D., Dean of Quebec.
1897..... " " " " "
1898.....P. B. Casgrain.
1899..... " "
1900.....William Wood.
1901..... " "
1902.....Sir Jas. M. LeMoine, D.C.L., F.R.S.C.
1903..... " " " " "
1904.....Major William Wood, F.R.S.C.
1905..... " " " "
1906.....P. B. Casgrain.
1907..... " "
1908.....G. W. Parmelee, D.C.L.
1909..... " " "

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

FOUNDED IN 1824

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831

PATRON :

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE RIGHT HON. EARL GREY, G.C.M.G., BARON GREY OF HOWICK, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

VICE-PATRON

HIS HONOR THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR, PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

HONORARY PRESIDENT :

JAMES DOUGLAS, LL.D., Spuyten Duyvil, N.Y.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT

SIR JAMES M. LeMOINE, D.C.L., F.R.S.C.

HONORARY MEMBERS :

The Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G.
The Earl of Aberdeen.
The Marquis of Lansdowne, G.C.M.G.
The Duke of Argyle.
Sir Sanford Fleming, K.C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S.C.
John Miller Grant, Esq., London.
Revd. Charles Rogers, LL.D., F.S.A., Scotland.
Sir Gilbert Parker, D.C.L., M.P., London
Sydney Robjohns, Esq., F.R.H.S., Scotland.
John Reade, F.R.S.C., Montreal.
James Ashbury, Esq., England.
Henry Philips, Jr., Philadelphia.
Arthur G. Bradley, Esq., Northampton, England.
Arthur G. Doughty, C.M.G., Litt. D., F.R.H.S., England, F.R.S.C., Ottawa
Wm. C. Lane, Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.
Lt.-Col. George T. Denison, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
S. E. Dawson, Litt. D., F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
Sir Louis A. Jette, K.C.M.G.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS :

Anderson, W P., Lt.-Col., Ottawa.
Bartholomew, J. G., F.R.G.S., London.
Boucher de Boucherville, Hon., M.L.C., Boucherville, P.Q.
Brock, R. A., Richmond, Virginia, U.S.
Bailey, Dr. L. W., F.R.S.C., Fredericton, N.B.
Church, F. W., M.D., Boston.
D'Abbadie, Antoine, Membre de L'Institut de France, Paris
Denham, Edward, New Bedford, Mass., U.S.
DeSechelles, Desmazieres, St. Malo, France.
D'Urban, W. S. M., England.
DePeyster, Gen. J. Watts, Tivoli, N.Y., U.S.
Dansereau, Arthur, Montreal.
Filippi, le Comte Waldemar, Paris.
Ganong, W. F., M.A., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.
Graham, Lt.-Col. U.S.A., Chicago, U.S.
Gerin, E., Three Rivers, P.Q.
Grazillier, L'Abbe, Saintes, France.
Huget-Latour, Major, Montreal.
Jack, D. Russell, St. John, N.B.
Lefebvre de Bellefeuille, E., Montreal.
Le Gardeur de Tilley, le Comte Hypolite, Chantreau, pres-Saintes, France.
Lighthall, W. D., M.A., B.C.L., F.R.S.C., Montreal.
Madrazo, Don Pedro de, Secretary General of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, Spain.
Morgan, H. J., F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
Provencher, Colonel N., Montreal.
Raymond, Revd. W. D., St. John, N.B.
Roberts, Charles G. D., M.A., F.R.S.C., New York, U.S.
Scott, C. Percy, M.A., Windsor, N.S.
Simmonds, Peter Lund, London, England.
Strange, T. Bland, Major-General, England.
Stone, W. L., Mt. Vernon, N.Y., U.S.
Sulte, Benjamin, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
Wynne, Thomas H., Richmond, Va., U.S.
Wilson, Gen. James Grant, N.Y., U.S.
Winship, Geo. Parker, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS, 1909.

Ahern, Arthur.
Anderson, E. H.
Aylwin, Thos. C.
Auger, A. J.
Atkinson, Mrs. H.

Benyon, Capt. J. A.
Bennett, W. S.
Bennett, S. Sloan.
Boswell, St. George, M.I.C.E.
Boyce, J. G.
Burroughs, L. F.
Boulton, A. R.
Bishop, E. A.
Brown, W. H.
Brown, John.
Bank of Montreal, Quebec Staff.
Bradley, T. C.
Boulton, Captain R. N.
Belleau, Jos.
Bartlett, Capt.
Burstall, J.
Brown, E. C.

Carter, W. H.
Carrel, Frank.
Casgrain, P. B.
Champion, C. P.
Clint, W.
Cream, R. F.
Cook, A. H.
Cook, W.
Chambers, E. J. C., D.D.S.
Chambers, E. T. D.
Champion, W. S.
Code, E. E.
Colley, A. W.
Commerce Bank of, Quebec Staff

Davidson, Lt.-Col. W. H.
Dunn, Rt. Rev. A. Hunter, Lord Bishop of Quebec.

Dunn, S. H.
Dumontier, J. F.
Dobell, William.
Doucet, A. E.
Duggan, F. M.
Duffett, Miss.

Evans, Lorenzo.
English, Col.

Forsyth, Lt.-Col. Jos. Bell.
Fairchild, G. M.
Fitzpatrick, A.
Falkenberg, Mrs. F.

Geggie, D. H.
Geggie, James.
Goodday, H. G.
Gibson, Geo. F.
Gagnon, Phileas.
Garneau, Sir J. Geo.
Grant, Miss.
Hamilton, John, D.C.L.
Holt, J. H.
Holloway, Frank.

Hall, W. C. J.
Hance, J. B.
Harper, Dr. J. M.
Hoare, Mrs.
Hamel, Mrs. E.
Healey, Miss.
Hossack, Geo.

Jewell, David.
Joly de Lotbiniere, E. G.
Jones, Lt.-Col. G. E. Allen.
Joseph, Montefiore.
Joseph, Andrew C.
Jones, Miss C.
Judge, Edmond H.
Johnston, W. W.

Kennedy, Harold.

LeMoine, Sir Jas. D.C.L., F.R.S.C.
LeMoine, Gaspard.
Laurie, William.
Lindsay, Lt.-Col. Crawford.
Laird, John.
Lampson, Fred.
Lyster, A. N.
Lawrence, Mrs. G. B.
Laurie, Dr.
Landry, Senator.

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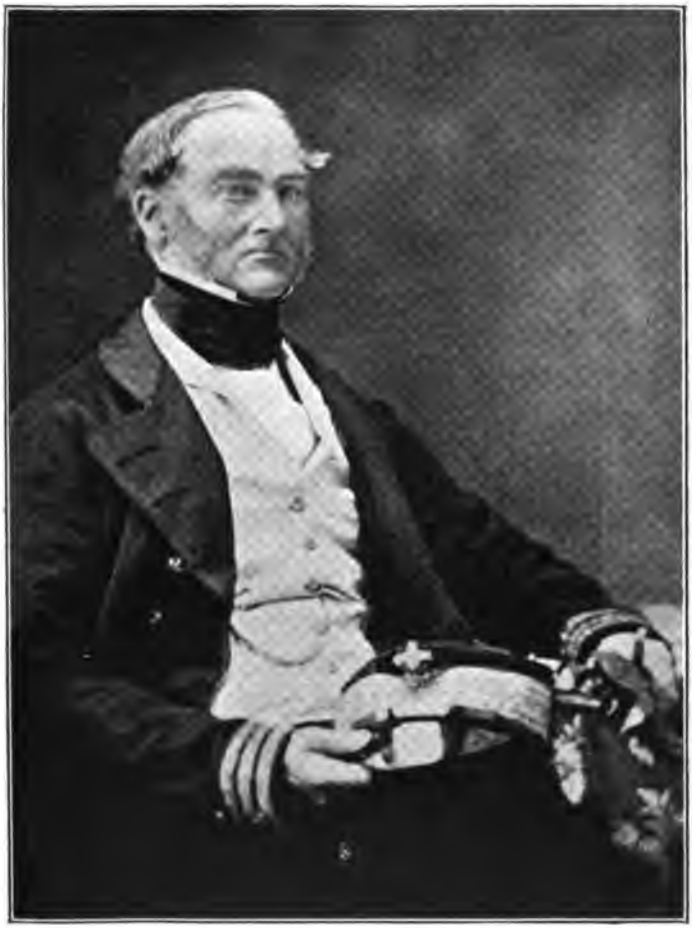

ADMIRAL BAYFIELD

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

A paper on Admiral Bayfield, read in Morrin College Hall before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, on the 4th day of January, 1909, by retired Captain J. G. Boulton, R.N., Hydrograpical Surveyor, the President, Dr. G. W. Parmelee, in the Chair.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I fear you will derive less pleasure from the reading, than I have from the writing of this paper on Admiral Bayfield, partly because bad caligraphy does not conduce to good reading, and partly because this paper is nothing more than a scanty and disjointed account of the services, principally in Canadian waters, of a scientific naval officer, appealing more to surveyors and seamen than to the mixed audience who have honoured me and the memory of the late Admiral, with their presence here to-night.

But being anxious, as I am sure are many others in this city and Canada generally, to have the Admiral's useful services in this country recorded ere it be too late (and there being in my opinion no fitter repository for such than the archives of this Society, of which the late Admiral was a prominent member for some fourteen years) this wish cannot well be complied with, unless I afflict you for a short time with a portion (about two-thirds) of what I have written, in order that the President and Council of the Society may judge whether it is worth the expense of publication. Should it meet with their favour, access can hereafter be had to the complete paper when laid upon the Reading Room table of the Society.

The method pursued in the compilation of this rather fragmentary memoir has been, first, to relate Bayfield's services, from his entry in the Royal Navy to his comple-

tion of the Hydrographical Survey of the Canadian shores of the Great Lakes.

Then a brief account of the Services of Admiral Owen, under whom Bayfield commenced his surveying career, and with whom he was afterwards associated in similar work, later, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (though time does not allow me to read it). Next, a short description of the method of hydrographic surveying as pursued by Bayfield. Finally, an account of part of his services in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, from extracts from six journals and a letter book ,which unfortunately only cover about two-thirds of the Admiral's time in that district, but are all that appear to exist. I am much indebted to the Admiral's son, Edward Bayfield Esq., barrister-at-law, residing in Charlottetown, P.E.I., for his kind assistance, and to Dr. Doughty C.M.G. Dominion Archivist, and James White Esq. F.R.G.S. Geographer, for the loan of the six journals.

Admiral Henry Wolsey Bayfield, the subject of this memoir, was born at Hull in the County of Norfolk, England, on the 21st January, 1795, being descended from a very ancient family, the Bayfields of Bayfield Hall, in the village of that name and in the same county. Bayfield received an ordinary education, and, in 1806, at the early age of eleven years, entered the Navy as a supernumary volunteer on board His Majesty Ship Pompée of 80 guns, bearing the flag of Sir William Sidney Smith, and was in action with a French privateer six hours after leaving Portsmouth. Mr. Bayfield was transferred to H.M.S. Queen of 98 guns, the flagship of the great Collingwood. From her he was appointed to the Duchess of Bedford, hired armed ship commanded by Lieutenant F. B. Spilsbury, and was slightly wounded in a severe action in the Strait of Gibraltar, in which that vessel beat off two Spanish feluccas with double her crew. For Mr. Bayfield's conduct in this action, he was made a first-class volunteer and appointed 29th September, 1806, to H.M.S. Beagle, called the Golden Beagle from the number of prizes she cap-

tured. In her, commanded by Captain Francis Newcombe, he assisted in compelling the enemy to abandon an English vessel laden with naval stores, stranded on the Spanish Atlantic coast.

He also assisted at different times, in the capture of the Hazard, Vengeur and Fortune, privateers, and participated in Lord Cochrane's action in Basque roads in April, 1809, being present at the operations of the 11th, 12th and 18th of that month. On the latter date, the Beagle, in company with other ships, was engaged with the French vessels, Ocean, Regulus and Indienne, aground in the mouth of the Charente, the English ships being exposed to a heavy fire from the battery on Isle d'Aix. The Beagle, which gallantly posted herself on the Ocean's stern and quarter in barely more water than sufficed to float her, fought hotly for five hours and suffered more severely than any of her consorts.

In the autumn of 1908, Mr. Bayfield accompanied the Waleheren expedition, and in 1811 as midshipman, he rejoined Captain Newcombe, now commanding H.M.S. Wanderer of 21 guns, in which he served in Spain, Portugal, the West Indies and North America. Mr. Bayfield was promoted to Lieutenant on March 3rd, 1815, and while his ship was in Quebec that summer, Captain Owen, R.N., who was making a survey of Lake Ontario and in want of an assistant, was so taken with Lieutenant Bayfield's note books that he was ordered to accompany Captain Owen back to Kingston forthwith. He did not go willingly, because he thought for a young naval officer it would be burial alive now that peace was declared. It should have been stated, that while on board the Beagle, Bayfield had for messmates two young officers who had received a college education. Bayfield taught himself from their books, there being no Naval Instructor in those days. Lieutenant Bayfield remained with Owen until the latter returned to England in 1816. On June 17th, 1817, Bayfield was made Admiralty Surveyor, and eventually extended the survey over all the Canadian shores of the Great Lakes. I

regret to state that I have not had access to any journals or reports of his work upon the upper lakes, extracts from which would, no doubt, be extremely interesting; but we know that his survey of Lakes Erie and Huron was carried on by very inadequate means in two six-oared open boats, his sole assistant being Mr. Midshipman P. E. Collins, R.N. We also know that in 1823 he commenced the survey of Lake Superior, having the use of the Hudson Bay Company schooner Recovery, the only vessel on that lake. Ex-Surveyor-General Lindsay Russell, informed me recently that during his explorations in that region he heard that the name of the Recovery's sailing master was Lamphere, construed by the French voyageurs into L'Enfer, his temper being anything but angelic upon occasion. Bayfield, by the Indians, was known as the "Great," Collins as the "Little Chief."

Bayfield made Fort William his headquarters for Lake Superior, and in winter the survey of the shore line was proceeded with on the ice, as was done in Lakes Erie and Huron before, Bayfield living in camp with his French voyageurs.

On 10th May, 1825, at Fort William, Lieutenant Bayfield met Captain (afterwards Sir) John Franklin R.N., and his party of 33 ,on their way to the Arctic coast of Canada from England, via New York and Penetanguishene. The object of the overland journey was to gain time over the alternative passage to York Factory by one of the two annual Hudson Bay Company's ships. Among Franklin's officers was Lieutenant George Back R.N., whom as Commander on his way to the mouth of the Great Fish River for tidings of Captain (afterwards Sir) John Ross R.N., Bayfield again meets at Quebec in 1833.

Towards the end of the year 1825, Bayfield having completed the survey of the Canadian shores of the Great Lakes, returns to England, and is employed at the Admiralty, preparing for the engraver his lake charts, and no doubt appreciating the rest and change of scene after

ten years incessant toil on shores mainly inhabited by Indians and a few fur traders.

Bayfield was promoted to Commander in November, 1826, and, in recognition of his services in Canada, was appointed in the autumn of 1827, to the command of the Survey of the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, making this city his first winter quarters. Before relating his services in this part of Canada, I shall, in accordance with previous announcement, say a little about Admiral Owen, followed by a brief description of the nature of hydrographic surveying pursued by Bayfield.

Admiral William Fitzwilliam Owen, born in 1774, entered the Navy as a midshipman in June, 1788, serving in the West Indies and Home Stations until the end of 1794 in H.M. Ships Culloden, Libra, Assistance, Vengeance, Hannibal, and Culloden again. In the latter ship, he was present at Lord Howe's victory. He afterwards served in the London, and was promoted to lieutenant for his conduct during the mutiny at Spithead, and given command of H.M.S. Flamer in June, 1797. After serving in various ships in the English Channel, he commanded H.M. brig Seaflower in the East Indies, when he captured in July, 1806, the French ship Le Charles. He explored part of the Maldive Islands and the west coast of Sumatra. He conducted Sir Edward Pellew's squadron into Batavia roads, and distinguished himself on that occasion in command of a division of boats. In September, 1808, he was taken prisoner by the French and detained at Mauritius until June, 1810, after which he was superintendent of transports at Madras. He became commander in May, 1809, and served through the Java campaign in 1811 in H.M.S. Barracouta. In December, 1811, he was promoted to post rank and appointed to H.M.S. Cordelia, in which ship he captured the island of Palembang. He returned to England in June, 1813, and in March, 1815 was appointed for survey of the Canadian lakes. After completion of the survey of Lake Ontario, Owen returned to England in the following year, and was for a short time attached to the

Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty. From 1821 to 1826 he was employed in H.M.S. Leven in surveying the west and east coasts of Africa, losing in the rivers on the latter coast more than half his complement from fever. Later he was employed in the survey of the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia until promoted to Rear Admiral in 1847, when he gave up the survey. He obtained the rank of Vice Admiral in 1854, retired with that rank in 1855, and died at St. John, N.B., 3rd November, 1857, aged 83 years.

On Admiral Owen's arrival at Sheerness to pay off the Columbia, a slight misunderstanding occurred. H.M.S. Columbia was a paddle-wheel vessel, and her proportions anything but yacht-like; and, on Owen's arrival at Sheerness he had good reason to know that the Commander-in-Chief at the Nore was temporarily absent, and the port in charge of an officer of much lower rank than Owen. This officer, never dreaming that a "clumbungy" of a craft like the Columbia, could contain a live Admiral, got very angry that he was not waited upon by the Lieutenant or Commander, at most, of the Columbia, and made signals to her in accordance with his feelings. Nothing coming of them, the port officer boarded the Columbia to know why his temporary authority was set at defiance, and much to his surprise, was received at the gangway by Rear Admiral Owen, whose temper I have heard could be very short in the grain upon occasion. Admiral Owen possessed property on Campobello Island, Passamaquoddy Bay, New Brunswick, from which circumstance he was sometimes known as "Campobello" Owen.

Although coasts and harbours had been surveyed by the celebrated Captain Cook and others, the surveying service only became an organized branch of the British Navy on the 12th August, 1795, when the first Hydrographer, Mr. Alexander Dalrymple ,a retired East India Company officer, was appointed. Before this date, however, there were two "Marine Surveyors to the Admiralty" employed in surveys of the English coast. The first, from 1771 to 1778, was Lieutenant Murdoch Mackenzie, R.N.,

and afterwards his cousin, a civilian, Mr. Graeme Spence.

In 1808, Dalrymple was succeeded by Captain Thomas Hurd, R.N., who held the office until 1823, when the celebrated Arctic navigator Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir) W. Edward Parry, R.N., became hydrographer, holding the office until 1829, a couple of years after Bayfield commenced the survey of the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir) Francis Beaufort, K.C.B., succeeded Sir W. Edward Parry, and held the post until the year before Bayfield retired.

The important distinguishing feature of hydrographical surveying, as the term implies, is that its operations are carried on principally upon that unstable element water, dependent upon wind and tide, which, we know, "wait for no man." When a geodetic survey is carried across a country, such as the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, or the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States, an elaborate base line, 3 to 5 miles in length, is measured with the greatest possible accuracy, the operation occupying a party the best part of a year, and costing much money. Differently from this, Bayfield would measure small bases a quarter of a mile long or even less, every 20 or 30 miles, the same being measured by a chain or well stretched lead-line. The coast between would be triangulated by the land features, if suitable. If flat and wooded, use of the ship and boats would be made as temporary stations. In either case, the ultimate scale of the chart would be determined from the distance calculated between stations determined by latitude and longitude, and not from the triangulated distance, though the difference would not be great. Bayfield took nearly all the observations for latitude, and mostly by meridian and circum-meridian altitudesof stars, with sextant. As regards longitude, he made the Quebec citadel his secondary meridian, determining its longitude west of Greenwich during the winter months, principally by moon occultations, and eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, keeping his chronometers rated for the local time, and precious cold it must have been for their fingers in the ab-

sence of an observatory. The longitude of the Citadel was also determined by chronometric measurement with Cambridge Observatory, United States, through Halifax, alluded to further on. The marvellous skill of Bayfield as an observer, is shewn from the fact of his position of the present Time Ball on the Citadel being retained to this day on the latest chart of Quebec harbour. His differences of longitude between the Citadel and other points east and west of Quebec were determined by chronometers, of which at one time he had as many as thirteen on board his schooner. Bayfield would not likely be in error more than 500 feet in any of his astronomically determined positions. Every opportunity would be taken by himself and assistants to observe by theodolite the astronomical bearing of stations on prominent headlands, from each other. The above-mentioned possible error, therefore, for practical purposes of navigation, would amount to nothing. Everything being relative, it would simply mean a practically inappreciable difference of scale. The sextant observations for difference of longitude were usually taken by day, those for latitude by night, both dependent upon cloudless skies, a consummation devoutly to be wished for but seldom attained on the Labrador shore of the Gulf, as his journals show.

A large proportion of Bayfield's time would be absorbed in the attainment and calculation of these observations. The rest of his time would be occupied in sounding in the ship with the aid of Massey's sounding machine, the plotting of the stations on various large scale plans of harbours and smaller scale coast sheets, together with the superintendence and waiting upon his detached parties putting in the shore line and coast details.

Considerable ground would have to be gone over in the course of these operations, and the Gulnare, being a sailing vessel, had very little rest or any one in her, when a fair wind offered. The winters were occupied in completing the plotting of the remaining details on the rough sheets and plans; the construction of more comprehensive small

scale charts on Mercator's projection, on which the astronomically determined stations would be laid down by Bayfield himself, and between which the coast details and soundings from the roughs would be squared in. Fair copies would be made of the whole ,and in the spring be transmitted to the Hydrographer of the Admiralty for publication.

Accompanying Sailing Directions embodying information that cannot be written upon charts without causing confusion would also be written, and thus summer and winter would be fully occupied.

From the time of Bayfield's appointment to the Survey of the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence in the autumn of 1827, until July 1829, I have seen no journal, but the Quebec Gazette of the 19th May, 1828, says: "The hired schooner Gulnare, 146 tons, built for Captain Bayfield, R.N., as a surveying vessel, was launched yesterday from Mr. Taylor's shipyard. She is a fine vessel, owned by Mr. Stevenson, merchant, and after the season will be employed in the West India trade."

The same paper of 20th October, 1828, states: "The hired schooner Gulnare, Captain Bayfield, R.N., returned yesterday, having been employed since June last in surveying the river under the orders of the Admiralty. She has been engaged the greater part of the time in surveying the North Channel below Quebec, but has been as low as Anticosti and Gaspé. The Gulnare is to be sold by auction on Saturday next." She was advertised in the same number of the Gazette, in English and French for sale, the terms being £1,050 in cash, and the balance in sixty days, "the sale to carry certain advantages which will be transferred with her register." This probably alluded to the hire by the Admiralty. The agents of sale were James Bell Forsyth and Francis Bell, Esqrs. During the winter of 1828-29, Bayfield read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec a paper on the Geology of Lake Superior, which will be found among the Printed Transactions. This exhaustive treatise on so abstruse a

subject extraneous to his profession, is a good instance of his studious and observant nature.

In July, 1829, Bayfield was in Ellis Cove, Anticosti, which seems to have been his principal rendezvous while surveying that island, and says: "Found that the wreck on West Point is the Hibernia, a merchant brig, whose master had died here of fatigue and is buried on the island. We were informed that another vessel, a barque, got ashore about 20 miles to the south-east, and that about half her crew had perished. This, added to the crew and passengers of the Granicus, who all perished miserably from cold and hunger after eating each other, is tolerably well for one year."

In August, 1829, Bayfield was in Fox Bay on the north coast of Anticosti, and near East Point. From the crew of a Magdalen Island schooner, and from Mr. Godin in charge of the Provision Post maintained by the Government; also from his personal inspection of the place, Bayfield tells the following story of the wreck of the ship Granicus, which sailed from Quebec on the 29th October, 1828, for Cork, Ireland: "In November, the Grancicus struck on the reef from the south point of Fox Bay. The crew got her off, but she soon after became unmanageable and ran ashore on East Point. The crew, from the sails, constructed tents, in which they lived until early in March upon what they saved from the wreck. It is said they saved rum, which destroyed discipline and led to their ruin. Being able to get no more provisions from the Granicus, they came in a boat to Fox Bay, where they found nothing, the post not being supplied that winter, and consequently no one living at it. They lived, it appears, in the large building, being in all, seventeen men, two women and three children, who all perished. The fishermen who discovered the bodies in April last, found, upon opening the door of the large house, putrid and mutilated bodies, for as fast as any died the others appeared to have lived upon their remains. In this building there appear to have been most horrible scenes enacted. The bed places and bedding

were smeared with blood, and there were stabs of knives in the clothes. The partitions of the rooms and windows were broken as if by violent contention. I saw many articles of male and female clothing still remaining, and one hammock appeared to be smeared with blood. There was a pot in the fireplace with human flesh in it, and some pieces in a large chest. I saw a species of almanac on the wall in chalk, which appeared to be formed by first writing the number of days in the month, as 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., and rubbing out each day until the month was finished. The same was done for the days of the week, which were represented by their capital letters. In the small building, not larger than 12 feet by 8 feet, was found the body of a man of uncommonly powerful and muscular frame, who appeared to have died more recently than the rest, and not many days before the arrival of the fishermen. He was lying in his bed with his clothes on, and was the only body whole and uninjured. In the same room with him were four bodies suspended. Whether the man found dead in his bed murdered these, or merely survived the rest from superior strength, is not known and never will be."

The Quebec Mercury of 23rd June and 30th of June give practically the same account, with the addition of the enumeration of articles, including money and a gold ring, taken by the fishermen to the Magdalen Islands. From the above sources of information and by Bayfield (who was no doubt, singularly able to sift evidence and draw correct conclusions) being on the spot soon after the tragedy, we have the truest account it is possible to get. Still, one would like to know how the facts of the vessel striking twice, together with the time of their repairing to the empty Provision Post, were arrived at, seeing that there were no survivors and that the first fisherman did not arrive on the scene till April. The date of Mr. Godin's arrival, is not stated.

The natives of Anticosti (black flies and mosquitoes) shew a deplorable want of appreciation of hydrography in their treatment of Bayfield on his landing for astronomical

observations near North Point: "I could not see, having received the most miserable biting imaginable from black flies and mosquitoes, and came on board half blind and bloody."

The middle of August, 1829, finds him again in Ellis Cove. He says: "Mr. Gamache's schooner, and a merchant schooner which he had brought down from Quebec to take thence the cargo of the ship Hibernia wrecked on West Point of Anticosti, anchored just before us. We now learnt from Gamache's people, that three schooners had been seen off West Point, and that their people had plundered and burnt the wreck and cargo. It is well for these miscreants that I did not catch them at this work."

At the end of this month, Bayfield is working in the vicinity of the Manicouagan River and advises the master of a ship of his proximity to danger, the disregard of which lands the said master in a tight place: "Observed the barque hailed last night to be close to the Manicouagan Shoals, with boats ahead towing for several hours. The obstinate fool might have saved himself all this trouble, had he minded what was said to him."

Rivière du Loup was Bayfield's headquarters, for a few years for letters and provisions, and in calling for the same in the early part of September of the same year, 1829, he hears of the appointment of Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir Francis) Beaufort as Hydrographer to the Admiralty, from whom Bayfield received his orders. Beaufort succeeded Parry of Arctic fame. The second week in September sees Bayfield and the Gulnare at Tadousac, the anchorage at which for a sailing vessel, he does not consider any too safe: "I conceive the vessel sufficiently secure for me to leave her and proceed up the Saguenay, in which opinion I am joined by Mr. Douglas, the master. At all events, there is no better harbour, and the Saguenay must be surveyed.

He says of Tadousac, in 1829: "The trading post (the Indian fur trade) is on a larger scale than usual on the

coast. The buildings are good, and there is a chapel in which prayers are read after the Roman Catholic ritual, a very uncommon circumstance among fur traders, and very creditable to Mr. Moreau, in charge of the post."

The Gulnare carried two boats for her own use, and, in addition, there were two larger boats 25 feet long, 6¼ feet beam and pulling six oars, for the detached parties. These were capable of carrying their camp outfit and provisions for three weeks. Bayfield's staff, now and for some years later, consisted of Lieutenant P. E. Collins, R.N., who, as midshipman, was with him on the lakes; Mr. A. F. J. Bowen, mate R.N., and Dr. William Kelly M.D. R.N. The latter, in addition to his medical duties, assisted Bayfield in his accounts and correspondence.

Mr. A. Gugy appears to have been the owner of the Gulnare in 1829, Mr. William Stevenson acting as his agent. The vessel was hired by the Admiralty from 20th May to 1st November, the owners supplying a master and a proportion of the men. The Admiralty paid £300 sterling per month, the owner being at liberty to trade to the West Indies in the winter, but the latter not being satisfactory, the owner in the autumn of 1829 was to keep the vessel all winter in Quebec and be allowed the additional sum of £250 pounds sterling, compensation.

Towards the end of October, 1829, Bayfield allows himself a short holiday: "Finding that the sudden change from being constantly in the open air surveying, to the constant writing or work in the office, has damaged my health, I determined upon allowing myself a few days' respite, and accompanied the Hon. J. Caldwell on his yacht The Maid of the Mill to Crane Island to shoot, and I also piloted him among the shoals and thus increased my own knowledge of the river."

On the 2nd March, 1830, we find that Bayfield presented to the Literary and Historical Society geological specimens of the river below Quebec and from Anticosti, all arranged by Dr. Kelly, R.N.

Before proceeding to sea each spring, it was Bayfiield's custom to make out four bills on the Accountant-General of the Navy ,dated 21st June, July, August and September, and lodge them with the Deputy Quartermaster-General at Quebec, to be delivered to the owner of the Gulnare or his agent, as they became due. The balance to the 1st November, Bayfield paid himself on his return to Quebec.

The early part of June, 1830, finds Bayfield working in the vicinity of Hare Island and the Brandy Pots, and an entry in his journal on the 7th, shews that he was not altogether idle: "Plotted soundings obtained yesterday, into the plan, having worked all day until 11 p.m. at night. Very hard work. I never left the deck from 5 a.m. until 7 p.m. except for a few minutes at a time." The following shews his confidence in the handiness of his vessel: "During the day we had occasion to examine several places in the vicinity of the Brandy Pots never before entered by a vessel of any size. Trusting to the known qualities of the Gulnare, we fearlessly stood in, to within two cables of the rocks, whether the wind was fresh or light. In wearing or staying, she equally answered our expectations, working like a vessel of 30, instead of 150 tons. There was, however, no small degree of nervous excitement in this sort of thing, for the coast was so bold that we had no bottom with 50 fathoms of line at a quarter of a mile from the shore. Yet there were rocks above water, with 20 to 30 fathoms water alongside of them, and why not under water too? Now, to have got on such a rock, if such existed, would have meant certain destruction in such a tideway."

The officer conducting a marine survey has many things to distract his attention. On this occasion, Lieutenant Collins' boat came to grief. He was detached near the Brandy Pots with one of the large boats: "Mr. Collins' coxswain on the 23rd June carelessly left the plug out of his boat, which was aground at low water after having been cleaned out. At night when the flood made, the boat filled and all his books and sextant were damaged, and

about ten days' provisions destroyed. The coxswain must make this good, in part, out of his wages."

On Bic Island, Bayfield measures a base line, and on account of the slight inequalities of the ground, prefers to use a well stretched lead-line of 25 fathoms to the 66 feet chain, checking it by the latter before the line had time to contract or expand. Bayfield, at this time (July, 1830) had six chronometers.

August, 1830, finds him again at Ellis Cove, Anticosti, with the wind in, and a heavy sea. He says: "In this bay, with the wind in, a heavy sea and thick weather, there is nothing left for it but to hold on. We have tried the ground well before this, but this night we will try it more; there is nothing like being able to speak from experience in these matters."

Bayfield tries to be philosophical under the wretched weather he is experiencing in Anticosti, in August, 1830, and writes: "In such abominable weather, as we have been plagued with during the month, it is clear that little can be done in the way of surveying. In short, we are all out of patience and perfectly disgusted with the winds and weather, which cross us at every turn; query, Is it a sign of wisdom to rail at the winds and weather?" On the 18th August, he writes: "While at sea, spoke the ship London, the master of which vessel hauled towards us with his ensign half-mast and informed us of the death of our lamented sovereign, George the Fourth." A fortnight later, Bayfield "spoke the Colonial Government brig Kingfisher, Captain Rayside, who came on board."

Bayfield, soon after this, was anchored in St. Nicholas Harbour, a few miles west of Point des Monts and says: "I had just finished observing and was returning on board the Gulnare, when I met Mr. McLeod's boat, belonging to the fur traders of the King's Posts, and was both alarmed and astonished to perceive in her, Lieutenant Collins and two of his men. Lieutenant C. informed me that he had lost his boat, and had been travelling all day over the mountains until he met Mr. McLeod, who had

kindly lent him his boat to come to me. Lieutenant C., tho tired, had evidently suffered more in mind than body. The circumstances of this somewhat laughable affair were these: Lieutenant Collins was camped in St .Pancras Bay, and at daylight found his boat was not to be seen; and he and his men having shouted for some time, without having an answer, Lieutenant C. concluded that his boat, from the carelessness of his coxswain, had been carried out of the cove by the wind or tide during the night. All the provisions, chronometer, records and instruments were in the boat. Lieutenant C. posted four of his men on high land within sight of the cove, and came on to me with the other two, the remaining two being adrift in the boat. The laughable part of the business was, that the boat was never out of the cove and not a quarter of a mile from the tents; and had Lieutenant C. sent a man along the rocks on each side of the camp, he would have seen the boat im-immediately.

"The boat had been moored at low tide with too short a scope of cable, and as the tide rose, she lifted her anchor and quietly drifted out of the cove, while the boat-keepers slept. The boat's anchor, after drifting for a while, got foul of the rocks, which, when cleared, the boat returned to the camp and the keepers were as much astonished to find it deserted as Lieutenant C. had been to find the boat absent."

The 12th September, 1830, finds Bayfield off Quebec in the Gulnare, on her way to finish the season between Lake St. Peter and Montreal, and he says: "For fear of delay which might arise from communication with Quebec, I suffered no one to leave the vessel excepting the steward, whose wife was sick."

The folowing entry shows that Bayfield did not work on Sundays, except from necessity: "The angles taken to-day, I could only obtain under favourable circumstances of wind and weather like those of to-day. I therefore, seized the opportunity; otherwise I did not work to-day, Sunday." Under date of September 29th, he alludes to the

Berthier Channel above Quebec, having been surveyed in winter, which must have been that of 1827-1828, or1828-1829.

Bayfield, for the more convenient prosecution of the Survey of the St. Lawrence River, leaves the ship and lives in tents at the west end of Lake St. Peter, remarking: "My sailors are not so well accustomed to encamping in the woods as the Canadians of the surveying boats, and could, therefore, neither make themselves nor me as comfortable as circumstances admitted; we therefore passed a wet and comfortless night. Up, as usual with the sun."

In regard to the Richelieu River, Bayfield says, in middle of October of this year, 1830: "If I survey the River Richelieu, it will be done on the ice, as it is too narrow to triangulate, and cannot be done othewise, in summer, with sufficient accuracy." The end of October finds the party in winter quarters, and Bayfield with his officers attending the Levée of Lord Aylmer, the Governor, at Quebec.

On the 16th November, 1830, he says: "About sixty sail of merchantmen which had been wind-bound for a long time, took their departure. Twas a beautiful sight to see them all going round Point Levis in a crowd." Undaunted by the cold, we find him, on the 19th February, 1831, trying to obtain the longitude of the Citadel. Bayfield states: "At night, Dr. Kelly and I sat up until midnight endeavoring to obtain an occultation of Aldebaran with the moon. After sitting for an hour in the snow, with the thermometer near zero, we were disappointed by the star's just passing along the moon's edge without touching."

The latter part of that winter seems to have been severe, for Bayfield says: "Lieutenant Collins and Mr. Bowen measuring and making observations, etc., on the ice. Two regiments were reviewed on it, and the artillery practised at a target with round shot and shrapnell shells.' During this winter, Bayfield read before the Literary and Historical Society, a paper on the coral animals

in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and which is among the Society's Printed Transactions.

An entry of the 30th May, 1831, states: "I made my cash accounts up to this day, and thereby dismissed from my mind that part of my duty till next autumn, which will enable me to turn my undivided attention to the Survey, observations, etc., etc."

While working his way down the river in the spring of 1831, the Gulnare gets badly ashore near the Stone Pillar north-east of Goose Island, and the following extract of 7th May shews the reason of her going ashore, precautions taken to prevent injury, measures for refloating her, and his coolness during the time she was high and dry. He says: "Being anxious for the assistance of Mr. Hall the master (Mr. Walter Douglas had left to command the steamship John Molson) immediately after dinner, I requested him to go down to dinner with me, leaving Mr. Parry quartermaster in charge of the deck, cautioning him to mind South Rock, which I felt convinced he knew as well as I did.

"We had just finished dinner when the vessel struck on South Rock. All precautions were taken to meet the case of her falling over towards the deep water as the tide fell. The chronometers, journals, public money, papers, etc., were landed on the Stone Pillar, and an approaching small schooner was detained. At 5 h. p.m. having made preparations for all circumstances, and finding there was nothing more to be done, except wait with patience for the tide to flow, I went ashore upon the Stone Pillar about a third of a mile distant, and made a series of observations for the heights of mountains, variation of the compass, etc., etc. At 7 p.m., I returned to Gulnare, and found her completely dry fore and aft, which gave us an opportunity of examining her bottom. She was resting upon three points of rock; that upon which she appeared to be resting most heavily being abreast the fore part of the main hatchway, causing a slight dent in the bottom.

"To release this pressure as much as possible, we got large blocks of wood under her bottom between the point of rock and the bilge, but further aft, and wedged them in with great force by means of a heavy spar slung over the side and worked like a battering ram. We did the same under the keel aft, as, from the after part of the main chains to the stern post she rested on nothing until we had done this. At 3 a.m. we were afloat and anchored opposite the Wood Pillar, the vessel not making a drop of water. I was extremely annoyed at this accident, because I considered that those who did not know the circumstances of the case would justly consider it discreditable that we should get ashore upon a part of the river that we had surveyed several years ago. Many vessels passed us, beating down with the ebb, but not one offered us the least assistance. The Gulnare, however, put a good face upon it in her misfortune, and I ordered the ropes to be hauled taut, yards squared, and the ensign and pennant to be kept flying, in order that they might see that we were not frightened out of our senses—the rascals."

Messrs. Collins and Bowen both have trouble with their boats' crews in June of this year, as the following extracts show: "At 7, Mr. Bowen rejoined me, having been much detained by the desertion of four of his men, two of whom he had caught and brought back, but the other two escaped and warrants were out against them in Quebec." The next day, the 10th June, he says: "Lieutenant Collins rejoined me, having had trouble with his men, and lost one of them. The best boatmen have engaged this spring in the service of the Hudson's Bay and King's Posts Companies. These fur traders being in a state of fierce opposition, give very high wages; hence, we had a very indifferent set to choose our boats' crews out of."

The next day Bayfield says: "Lieutenant Collins returned from Rivière du Loup with three men who had never pulled an oar in their lives; we shall have to teach them." Bayfield is off Matane on 7th July, and says of the weather: "Continued sounding in a variety of lines, by

the patent-log and compass all night. Extremely disagreeable on board this small vessel in this weather. Everything wet, or at least damp on board, rolling and tossing abount incessantly; besides, it is so cold that we can scarcely keep ourselves warm with thick flushing dresses on."

Towards the end of July, 1831, Bayfield is sounding off Cawee Island on north shore of the Gulf, and says: "Sounding off Cawee Island in 191 fathoms, the patent sounding machine was used in this great depth contrary to my orders and the wings burst from pressure in consequence."

On the 12th September, Bayfield rescued the master Mr. Marnock, and crew of the ship Jane of Belfast which was wrecked on Bicquette Island landing them at Rivière du Loup at much inconvenience. In the middle of the same month he passes Quebec on his way to resume the survey of the river below Montreal, and says: "We did not stop at Quebec, wishing to get on with our work without delay. The latter must have occurred had I permitted any of the crew to go on shore at the city, as they would have got drunk as a matter of course." To qualify him for promotion to acting lieutenant, Mr. Bowen has permission to proceed to Halifax to undergo his examination in seamanship: "The Gulnare was towed up the St. Lawrence by the steamboat John Molson, commanded by Mr. Walter Douglas, our master of last year."

In returning to Quebec on the 19th October, Bayfield states that he had 14 feet water in crossing Lake St. Peter. The temptations of Quebec prove too much for a portion of the crew, as shown by the following: "Lieutenant Collins, leaving the men to find their own way on board after hauling up their boats in Sir J. Caldwell's store, River St. Charles, they became intoxicated as a matter of course, hence a scene of disorder and drunkenness at night. The truth is that our men are not under martial law, and we can never get much good out of them in port, in consequence."

Bayfield finds it difficult to punish hired men for misconduct: "Mr. William Stevenson, the agent for Mr. Gugy, paid off the crew to-day. There was one man, La Vallé, in Lieutenant Collins' boat, who had been drunk, insolent and disobedient; but, upon reflection, I could not punish him by stopping his wages, the only mode in my power, without being subject to a lawsuit, the result of which would be doubtful, and even, if decided in our favour we should have to pay the costs, as he would sue me in forma pauperis. This took place last year, when one of Mr. Bowen's men was declared to have partly forfeited his wages, but Mr. Gugy had to pay nearly double the wages forfeited, in the way of costs. Such is the Court of Admiralty. I had another motive for letting this man off, which was, that it appears discreditable to be, every year, in litigation with these blackguards, and the matter being misrepresented in the parishes, might give the service a bad name and render it difficult for us to get men, another year."

The boatmen's wages in 1831 appear to have been eleven, and the coxswain's wages fifteen dollars a month, and found, of course. Bayfield's assistants seem to have had usually a week for settling down in their winter quarters before commencing office work.

The remark on the 26th November, 1831, "calculating observatoins till midnight," looks as if Bayfield had not much spare time. On the 16th December of that year, he says: "Commodore Barrie, R.N., stationed at Kingston, Ontario, departed for that place, leaving his son Mr. William Barrie, under my charge. He is midshipman of the Cockburn, on Lake Ontario, and is to be considered as lent to me for the present. He is a fine talented boy of fourteen."

On the 16th January, 1832, there is an entry: "Wrote officially to Lieutenant Collins, the senior assistant surveyor, censuring him for not paying more attention to scientific subjects connected with his profession." This remonstrance was, of course, entirely for the good and fu-

ture advancement of his assistant. On the 1st February, 1832,, he notes: "The first anniversary dinner of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was given to-day, at which Lord Aylmer presided." On the 4th: "Dr. Kelly, R.N., read his paper on Mirage and Terrestrial Refraction to-night before the Society."

Mr. Bowen had returned from Halifax, and we will hope, had passed a satisfactory examinatoin in seamanship; for on the 15th of March Bayfield commends his zeal, as follows: "Mr. Bowen still on the sick list, as well as Lieutenant Collins; the former with a zeal which does him credit, although unable to attend the office, sent for his work and continued it in his own lodgings. This, Mr. Bowen did of his own accord." The offce was in the Union Building, on the northwest side of Rue du Fort, leased to the Government for the Civil Service.

On the 1st May, 1832, Bayfield records: "Received letters by the March Halifax mail, conveying to me the painful intelligence of the death of my much loved and revered mother." On the 4th of the same month: "Solemn fast ordered today on account of the cholera. A great fire near Diamond Harbour, sixteen buildnigs burnt down." On the 23rd May: "Commodore and Mrs. Barrie arrived from Kingston to see their son off in the Gulnare, he being lent to me from H.M.S. Cockburn, bearing Commodore Barrie's broad pennant on the lakes."

While at anchor in St. Patrick's Hole, Orleans Island, 9th June, Bayfield says: "The cholera is undoubtedly established at Quebec, fifteen cases having occurred in all since the commencement yesterday morning, and, I regret to add, five have ben fatal. Thus, the quarantine established to board, examine and stop all suspected vessels, has proved ineffectual. No case of cholera has yet occurred at the Quarantine Station. We ought to consider ourselves fortunate in leaving Quebec at the commencement of this fearful disease, but any satisfaction of this kind is swallowed up in concern for our friends whom we have left behind us."

July 27th: "Lieutenant Collins pulled his boat the Cockburn, against Mr. Hall the master, in the ship's launch, with ten double-banked oars, the Cockburn beating by fifteen seconds. This race created a great deal of excitement and rivalry among the boats' crews, and served to enlighten the tedious monotony, to them, of the service."

The climate of Anticosti is not very warm even in August, for on the 8th of that month Bayfield writes: "I managed to calculate some observations to-day, but everything is so damp below and so wet on deck, and the vessel tumbles about so, that it is almost impossible to sit still for any length of time without being chilled through, or rendered very uncomfortable."

In the last week of August, Bayfield is anchored in Kegashka Bay, Labrador, and says: "The roar of the surf was deafening and broke over the point nearly to the vessel's bow. The roar of the breakers all round and their nearness to us, gave a particularly wild appearance to our anchorage, which might not have been agreeable to weak or unpractised nerves. Never saw the moschettoes and black flies thicker; their bites covered us with blood while observing, and we could not open our mouths without swallowing them. The torment of them was beyond description: the men, painting and working at the rigging, smeared themselvse with paint-oil and tar, in vain."

Bayfield had intended spending the balance of the season in the more sheltered waters of the river about Lake St. Peter, as usual, but he says: "It is the opinion of the surgeon that our duties which cause us to be exposed to wet and cold constantly, would render us (and particularly the men) very likely to take the disease, cholera, and it is this consideration which has induced me to proceed to Gaspé, it being quite immaterial which place is surveyed first, or, if there be any difference, Gaspé is of more importance.

In the middle of September, being at Gaspé, he says: "Measured a base of about 1¼ miles, and observed at night the immersions of Jupiter's first and third satellites,

for longitude. Blundell the quartermaster, who had it in charge to issue the provisions, had been for some time since suspected of watering the men's grog, to make up for what he plundered for his own drinking. He was this day convicted of this dishonest practice, for which I disrated him and reprimanded him severely before the crew, who were called aft on the quarterdeck for the purpose."

The 29th September, being Sunday: "Gave leave to men to walk on shore, the first they have had, or, I have had an opportunity of giving them, this year, excepting one Sunday, at Mingan." Shewing the Gulnare's fast sailing qualities, Bayfield, on the 10th October, says: "At 6.30 p.m., tacked off Great Boule Island (Seven Islands). At 8 a.m., there was a large barque about 4 miles on our beam. She carried a heavy press of canvas all day on the same tack as ourselves; nevertheless, at 4 h. p.m., she was half courses down on our lee quarter. When we tacked she was out of sight to leeward." On 19th October the Gulnare picks up her mails on her way to Quebec for the winter. He says: "At 5 h. a.m., anchored off Rivière du Loup and sent boat for letters, after which I retired till 9 h. a.m., having been up all night piloting the vessel."

In furnishing his office, Bayfield seems to have been actuated by necessity, rather than luxury, for he says: "Paid A. S. Frazer the sum of £8. 3s. 6d. currency for a carpet for the office, the cold being so severe we could not do without it." On January 6th, he says: "There is a custom in Canada that, at New Year everybody calls upon everybody, requiring two days at least, during which nothing can be done, for people are coming in or knocking at your door all day." February, 1833: "Mr. Barrie calculating the triangles of the survey of Gaspé, principally to teach him how a regular survey is made and conducted." April 22nd: "Received a letter from Captain Back, R.N., requesting me to lend him a mountain barometer. (He had lost his barometer in the fire at his hotel at Montreal.) We had none I am sorry to say, nor could I find one in good order in Quebec. Captain Back is going on an expedition

to look for Captain Ross, R.N." Commander Back, accompanied by Dr. Richard King, led a search expedition by land to the mouth of the Great Fish River, for tidings of Captain John and Commander James Clark Ross. Back commanded H.M.S. Terror in 1836, returning in 1839 to Ireland with his ship in a sinking condition, and was knighted.

Relating to a chart prepared during the winter of 1832-1833, Bayfield says: "This chart, Point des Monts to Bay Chaleur, has been a work of very great labour, but it will also, I trust, be one of great utility, for it is very complete in soundings and detail of every kind; and, I have reason to believe, there is no point in it that will be found in error more than five seconds of latitude or ten sceonds of longitude." (500 to 600 feet.) May 28th, 1833, Bayfield was preparing for sea, and says: "Our greatest trouble is with the men; the fellows ship readily for so favorite a service, but they are always in debt and their creditors will not let them go until they pay. Hence, it becomes necessary to give a month's advance. A drunken bout follows, as a matter of course, and, until that is over, there is no chance of keeping them on board a vessel alongside a wharf with grog shops close to it."

On the 29th, the Gulnare proceeds down the St. Lawrence: "The Royal William steamer towed us and our new tender the Beaufort, 30 miles in 4 h. 20 m., against the flood stream, but in coming near to take us in tow, she unluckily smashed our gig at the davits, to pieces. But Mr. Stevenson, the agent for both vessels, kindly offered the loan of another gig in her place, and would make no charge for towing us." The Royal William crossed the Atlantic this summer to England. In the middle of June, 1833, the Gulnare had a stormy passage from Gaspé to the Magdalen Islands, and Bayfield says: "Few of us could sleep much under such circumstances, for we have not room to hang in cots or hammocks, and are therefore tossed about in standing bed-places at a great rate." On arrival at the

Magdalens, Lieutenant Collins is left there with the tenders Beaufort and Cockburn, with eight men.

Bayfield, in the Gulnare, then proceeds to Little Natashquan Harbour, on the Labrador Coast, where, on the 22nd June he meets with Mr. Audubon, the celebrated American naturalist. He relates: "Mr. Audubon the naturalist we found here in the American schooner Ripley, with several young men, two of them being medical students. Mr. Audubon has come principally to study the habits of the water fowl, with which the coast of Labrador abounds, and to make drawings of them for his splendid work on the birds of America. We found him a very superior person indeed. On returning Mr. Audubon's visit, was delighted with his drawings, the birds being represented of life size and beautifully painted. Mr. Audubon dined on board the Gulnare. It is said there are 300 vessels employed in the fisheries on this coast, averaging 75 tons each, and manned by 50 men to each six vessels, equal to 2,500 men. Of these, one half are French, one fourth British and the rest Americans. Each vessel takes away on an average, 1,500 quintals of codfish, at 112 pounds per quintal. The fish average about 4 pounds each in weight, being small on this coast.

"We heard from the Americans about the Eggers, a set of people, we, to-day, first heard of spoken of as a body. We had previously no idea of the extent of the egging business, as our informants termed it. It appears that, in some seasons, 20 small schooners or shallops, of 20 to 30 tons, load with eggs from this coast. Halifax is the principal market for them, where they at times fetch a much higher price than hens' eggs. They are stowed in the hold in bulk and kept for several weeks without any preparation. These men, the Eggers, combine together and form a strong company. They suffer no one to interfere with their business, driving away the fishermen or anyone else who attempts to collect eggs near where they happen to be. Might makes right with them, it is clear. They have arms, and are said by the fishermen, not to be very scrup-

ulous about using them. As soon as one vessel is loaded, she is sent to market, others following in succession, so that the market is always supplied, but never glutted. One vessel of 25 tons is said to have cleared £200 by this egging business in a favorable season."

In proceeding out of Little Natashquan Harbour, the Gulnare touches upon a rock, and Bayfield says: "The western channel appeared to be the widest, and Mr. Bowen thought he had found all the rocks, but we soon added to his knowledge, for on the second board to the westward, in the narrowest part of the channel, we struck just after the helm was put down to tack.. We were not aground more than a minute or two, and it was dead low water. No injury was done, even to the rates of the chronometers, for Dr. Kelly instantly ran down and took them in his hands until we were afloat."

Bayfield is away from the ship with tents and boat between Cape Whittle and the Meccatina Islands, and experiences very miserable weather. He says: "Thus, day after day pass miserably away without advancing the service in the least, so constantly are we persecuted with these easterly and southerly winds, with rain and fog. This is the fifth day of our detention on this barren island, without a bush, wild fowl, or anything but moschettoes, during the whole of which time I have not been able to obtain a single observation. Yet, to the Meccatinas we will survey before we return, if it be possible. We began to-day to catch puffins and young gulls, and to collect mussels and clams, to make our provisions last out as long as possible. These are but indifferent food, and my men would not use them until they learnt my determination of not returning to the vessel till the work was finished, and the consequent possibility of their being on short allowance if they did not now economise their regular allowance."

Having attained his object, Bayfield takes the Gulnare into Meccatina harbour at the end of July, and writes: "Depending upon the accuracy of Lane's survey, I shot her into Meccatina Harbour, and was astonished to find it not

more than one-half the size represented in his particular plan of it." Mr. Michael Lane was Captain Cook's assistant in his survey of Newfoundland, and carried on the work in Newfoundland and Labrador when Cook left to undertake his Pacific ocean voyages. Lane, however, had not the genius of Cook or Bayfield.

In the first week in August, Bayfield proceeds to Green Island, Newfoundland, and of the Gulnare's sailing qualities, says: "In running across the Strait of Belle Isle to Green Island, Newfoundland, the Gulnare averaged ten knots; at times, eleven knots, wind abeam."

Bayfield, on the 9th August, remarks: "Cook's plan of Red Bay, as well as of Chateau Bay (Labrador) is excellent."

On the 12th of the same month, being in Forteau Bay, Labrador, he says: "This morning, I turned James Davis on shore for mutinous, disrespectful and abusive language and manner to Mr. Hall the master, given publicly when Mr. Hall was on the quarterdeck and in the execution of his duty. This man had amused himself yesterday in spritsail yarding' dogfish, a cruelty which I disapproved of, and ordered not to be allowed. When desired by Midshipman Barrie to cast loose a fish which Mr. Barrie had caught and which the man was about to torture, he complied, but said he could catch more, in a disrespectful manner. Soon after, Mr. Hall saw him committing the forbidden cruelty, and ordered him to desist, informing him that my orders were it should not be done, upon which he answered in an insolent way, and Mr. Hall ordered his grog to be stopped in consequence. This morning, when ordered to cease making more noise than necessary when washing decks, he burst out into the mutinous language which caused me to send him ashore." Sailors, though usually humane, have a deep-seated enmity to sharks. "Spritsail yarding" is passing a spar through the shark's gills to prevent its sinking after being thrown back into the sea.

On the 17th August, Bayfield is off the entrance to Port Saunders, west coast of Newfoundland, in which a French

war-schooner was anchored for the protection of the French fishermen, who, until the year 1904, had, as they interpreted the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, the exclusive right of fishing and landing on the Newfoundland shore from Cape Ray northward and eastward to Cape St. John. Bayfield says: "The French man-of-war schooner's boat came off with a very polite note from her commander, conveyed by the master of the fishing brig Phoenix, who offered to pilot us in. We availed ourselves of this kind offer, for, as it was getting dark and the channel is very narrow, it was not easy to beat in, even with the assistance of Cook's excellent chart.

"Lieutenant Mazé, the French officer commanding the schooner Hirondelle, paid us a visit on board and made a very favorable first impression. Mr. Duville, master of the Phoenix, informed me that there are 300 sail of vessels from France employed in the fishery on the Newfoundland coast this season." (I presume this included the bankers which fished, and do still fish from St. Pierre.) "High encouragement," he goes on to say, "is given to this fishery by the French Government, with the obvious view of forming seamen for their navy. Fifteen francs per quintal of fish, are given as bounty, and another bounty nearly equally high, if reshipped to their colonies. Moreover, a hundred francs are given to every man shipped each year from France, if under 25 years of age. This is certainly forcing a trade, but the intention is obviously that of forming seamen.

"The French all leave this coast before the commencement of winter, leaving their fishery establishments, buildings, fishflakes, etc., in charge of a guardian, usually an inhabitant of Newfoundland (British) who is half hunter or fur trader and half fisherman. In the latter capacity the guardians are employed to fish the rivers and brooks for salmon, retaining one-half the salmon caught as payment for their labour, and delivering the other to their employers. Cook's chart of Port Saunders is excellent, and so is his chart of the coast as far as we have yet seen."

In the early part of September he takes up the survey of Gaspé, and on the 8th is the following remark: "Last night seevral of the men took the second gig on shore to purchase rum, and were discovered, upon inquiry, this morning. William Shannon and Byrnes, being the offenders, and having robbed the grog keg in the boats on a former occasion; and being insolent worthless fellows who had shipped as able seamen without being able to take either helm or lead, I turned ashore as an example to the rest. I also stopped the grog of all those who were drunk with the liquor smuggled off."

On the 19th of September, 1833, the Gulnare is anchored off Quebec on her way to finish the season in the more sheltered waters of the St. Lawrence below Montreal. Bayfield says: "I remained on board all day and suffered no one to leave the vessel, nor any boat to come on board without leave, in pursuance of a rule which I have adopted and observed on all former occasions, to prevent all those irregularities arising from the men drinking with their friends after a long voyage. If I do not indulge myself on shore, the officers who know my reasons, cannot with propriety expect it, and if they are not allowed to go ashore, the men will not consider it hard that they are left on board."

The vessel is again laid up in Quebec, and Bayfield and his staff are plotting their field work, and drawing fair charts for the engraver. On the 3rd January, 1834, he remarks: "On the 1st and 2nd no work was done in the office, everybody calling upon everybody that they knew ever so slightly, such being the custom of the country." On the 23rd January, he relates: "On this day at noon, the Castle of St. Lewis, the residence of the Governor-in-Chief, Lord Aylmer, was discovered to be on fire, and although every exertion was made to stop it, yet, such were the difficulties opposed by the severe cold which froze the water in the engines, and the great height of the building which caught fire first in the upper story, that it was completely consumed after burning all day and all the following night.

As the fire burnt downwards, time was given to remove most of the property which it contained. Nevertheless, much was destroyed in the confusion."

By an entry on the 12th May, 1834, it is evident the party is not idle: "We also attended to the fitting of the boats, repairing gear, drawing and purchasing stores, and principally before and after office hours."

On the 2nd June, before sailing, Bayfield says: "I parted from my young friend Barrie with much regret, and I believe it was mutual, but his father, the Commodore, justly considers that he ought to serve the remainder of his time" (as midshipman) "on board a regular man-of-war, where he will learn the routine and etiquette of the service, which cannot be very strictly attended to on board a small surveying vessel, with a hired crew changing every season."

In middle of July, 1834, he continues the survey on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and leaving the Gulnare anchored in Mistanoque Harbour, he proceeds in company with Mr. Bowen, along the north coast of the Strait of Belle Isle with boats and tents, and has a miserable time. Speaking of their drinking water, Bayfield says: "The water was brown and full of small water insects, which would doubtless have afforded good study to an enterprising entomologist, but which we did not consider very agreeable—at least, alive—so we boiled our water and allowed it to cool before we drank it."

Bayfield was, on this boat expedition, stormbound on Wood Island between Bradore and Forteau Bays, and says on the 22nd July: "Everything being wet in tents and boats, we accepted Mr. Bray's offer to sleep in his house, the men taking shelter in a store. It required hard weather to drive us to this, for these fishing people never clean their houses, which are shockingly dirty and smell abominably of putrid fish, seal oil, etc. They never remove the offal of the fish or the carcasses of skinned seal, which remain in scores around their establishments, frying

in the sun, and alive with maggots, tainting all the air around."

On Bayfield's return to the Gulnare in Mistanoque Harbour, he found two of the men had deserted: "On returning to the Gulnare I found that during my absence the boatswain and a man Thomas Paul, had deserted, stealing the second gig at night, in a thick fog. They had been concerned in stealing grog from the hold, and Mr. Hall the master told them he should report the affair to me on my return. They carried off what provisions they could steal from the messes, the Gulnare's binnacle compass, etc., etc., and the best of the clothes belonging to their absent messmates. The chances of catching them now are very remote, and the loss of time certain; I do not, therefore, feel myself at liberty to sacrifice the progress of the service for the mere chances of catching these rascals."

A month later, Bayfield has to examine into the conduct of one of the crew of the tender Beaufort. He says: "Found that Thomas Dwyer had done his best to generate a spirit of mutiny among the crew. I took him on board the Gulnare, to remain as prisoner until I arrived at some inhabited part of the country" (he is now anchored in Harbour au Liévres, Labrador) "when he will instantly be sent on shore."

In the middle of September of 1834, Bayfield calls at Rivière du Loup, and on his way thither is pleased with the speed of his ship. "The vessels which had left Pte. des Monts with us were all out of sight, so that the Gulnare has beaten everything that she has sailed with during the summer, both free and on a wind."

A couple of days later he stops at Grosse Isle, and writes: "Mr. Nicholas, the boarding officer, visited us and passed us, of course, as we had no sick. From this gentleman we found that at least one-twentieth of the population of Quebec had been swept away by this second visitation of cholera. I regret to add that many of our friends are among the sufferers; thankful, indeed, ought we all to feel

that our duties have kept us out of the way of this scourge."

In calling at Quebec next day on his way up the St. Lawrence River, he remarks: "I allowed no one to leave the vessel, according to custom."

On the 21st September, Bayfield says, in passing to Montreal across Lake St. Peter: "The waters of the St. Lawrence are lower than we ever before noticed them; there is only 10 feet in the lake over the flats."

Being at Montreal, on the 10th October, 1834, he writes: "We all went ashore for a walk to see our friends, the first holiday we have allowed ourselves since we sailed in the spring."

Bayfield returns in the fall to his winter quarters at Quebec as usual, and on the 15th January, 1835, remarks: "At the Castle last night, a large party, an agreeable relaxation when it does not come too often." Two days later he adds: "Attended the Literary and Historical Society at night, and afterwards extracted remarks on winds, tides, currents, etc., to be inserted in my fair Sailing Directions."

The heating arrangements in Quebec at this time were not as perfect as we have them now, for in February, 1835, he says: "Could not keep a fire in the office, and therefore could not work there to-day" [It was blowing a gale].

On the 8th March, is the following entry in his journal: "I gave Mr. Bowen leave for the day on Saturday, which he well deserves, having worked with much zeal and assiduity. By the measurements of Lieutenant Collins on the ice, the northeast corner of the King's bastion of the Citadel was found to be 308 feet 10 inches above high water of ordinary spring tides. The top of Wolf and Montcalm's monument, 260 feet 9 inches, the summit of Ste. Anne's mountain, 20 miles below Quebec, 2,684 feet."

On the 5th June, 1835, Bayfield is in Gaspé Harbour, and in reference to sextant observations for difference of longitude, says: "If the observations to be compared together be always on the same side of noon, and at alti-

tudes nearly similar, any errors in the instruments will be similar, and, consequently, not affect the difference of times between the observations, the thing to be obtained."

On the 20th June, the same year, he experiences bad weather off Cape Gaspé, and writes: "The doctor and Mr. Bowen both seasick in bed, together with the steward, cook, boys, etc.; in short, the whole of our domestic establishment. I should have felt the cold and disagreeables more, if I had not other things to think of. The fog and uncertainty of the position of the vessel did not suffer me to mind much else."

On the 23rd June, Bayfield is at the Magdalens, and enters the following: "At 8 a.m. we were just about to tack, when, by a mistake in the orders by the people forward, she took the ground, but soon got off again, having received nothing more than a salutary lesson to be more careful in future." Five days later, having left Lieutenant Collins with tender Beaufort to complete the survey of the Magdalen Islands, the Gulnare is at Red Island, Newfoundland, west coast, for verification of its astronomical position. Bayfield eulogizes Cook's work here, as follows: "The chart of Red Island and adjacent coast, soundings, etc., by the celebrated Captain Cook is extremely correct. If, in the style of drawing his charts, the nature of the coast, cliffs, etc., had been shewn, the survey would have been perfect. He has, however, made up for this, by numerous views of the land, and by the remarks and directions for navigating the coasts which he surveyed." I might incidentally mention here, that while assisting in the survey of the coast of Newfoundland, from 1871 to 1881, we had the same opinion of Cook's work. Here, too, it may be mentioned that Captain Cook was employed on the survey of the coasts of that colony and the Strait of Belle Isle from 1763 to 1767, under the orders of the two successive Naval Governors at that time, Captain (afterwards Lord) Graves, and Captain Sir Hugh Palliser, Baronet. Cook's last assistant in the survey of Newfoundland was Michael Lane, Esq., who had been a naval schoolmaster,

and who was given charge of the work on the selection of Cook for the voyage to the Pacific. The name of Cook's vessel in Newfoundland was the Grenville, at first schooner, afterwards brig rigged.

A brisk shore fishery was, in 1835, carried on by the French nation at Red Island, on the western coast. Bayfield relating that "there were twenty-seven sail of French schooners of 25 to 50 tons at anchor under Red Island. They all shewed their colours to us, and otherwise displayed the politeness of their nation."

On July 8th, the Gulnare is again at Mistanoque, on the Labrador, and Bayfield finds very similar weather to that he experienced exactly a year ago. He says: "Nine days have passed since our arrival, in which time we have done but one day's work; such is the climate of Labrador for surveying."

In the middle of July Bayfield is anchored in Bonne Espérance Harbour, north shore of the Strait of Belle Isle, and writes: "Many of the French schooners put to sea yesterday, and I am told they were induced to do so for fear of a visit from our boats, which they saw with ensign and pennant up, sounding in the offing." The French treaty fishing rights did not extend to the Labrador.

Towards the end of July, the Gulnare is anchored in Chateau Bay, where there is little improvement in the climatic conditions: "We found it extremely cold here, the temperature of the water outside the bay being at freezing point, 32 degrees Fahrenheit, and the air, 43 degrees Fahrenheit. The first plants are just springing up, and the grass is only just beginning to show a shade of green. Yet, this is the 25th July!"

Bayfield leaves the vessel in Chateau Bay and surveys the coast to St. Lewis Sound in boats, and on the 17th August returns to the Gulnare, saying: "We were all glad enough to be on board again, for rougher work than the survey from this to Cape St. Lewis we have seldom experienced. 'Tis, however, done, and well done, and there is a gratification in this which makes up for anything else."

At the end of August the rum trouble breaks out again, Bayfield saying: "Two men, Robinson and Fleming, the former my coxswain, drunk. Upon enquiry, found that some of the men and boys give or sell their grog to others, contrary to my orders early in the season."

On the 11th September, 1835, he is at Trinity Bay, on the north shore of the gulf, and remarks: "Here we met with some pilots not long from Quebec, and heard that our tender, the Beaufort, had passed up two or three weeks ago, and that it was reported in Quebec that Lieutenant Collins had died in the Magdalen Islands of aploplexy. We cannot, of course, learn any more of the circumstances of this melancholy event till we arrive in Quebec or Rivière du Loup. There seems, no doubt, however, that my old friend and assistant, who, with the exception of two years while he was at sea in the Herald, has been with me for eighteen years, is no more. He was but a boy of sixteen when he first joined me" (on the lakes). "I have seen him grow up to manhood, and thought to have seen, with pleasure, his further advance in the service, but it has pleased God to otherwise dispose of him, and who shall murmur at His will."

Four days later, Bayfield is anchored at the Pilgrims, and says: "I received to-day an account from Mr. Doucette, magistrate at the Magdalens, of the death of my lamented friend and assistant, Lieutenant Collins. He was taken ill very suddenly while sounding in the Beaufort off the islands, and ordered his coxswain to run the vessel as soon as possible into Amherst Harbour. He, then, says the inquest, threw himself into the arms of his coxswain and died instantly. He had complained of a great headache several days before."

On the 19th September, the Gulnare calls at Quebec on her way to continue the survey near Montreal, and Bayfield remarks: "Found lying here (Quebec) H.M. Ships President and Forte, the first being the flagship of the Right Honorable Vice Admiral of the Red, Sir George Cockburn; the second bearing the broad pennant of Com-

modore Pell. The Admiral appointed Lieutenant John Orlebar, R.N., of H.M.S. Forte to assist me, taking his chance of the Admiralty allowing him to remain with me as assistant surveyor if he qualifies himself during the autumn and following winter." The officers of the survey at this time were all on the flagship's books as supernumeries. Orlebar married, 5th February, 1838, Miss Elizabeth Harriet Hale, sister of Jeffery Hale, Esq.

At the end of October, 1835, the staff being once more in winter quarters at Quebec, we find Mr. Bowen is preparing for his departure to England on leave of absence to pass his examination at the College (Portsmouth).

On the 13th November, Bayfield says: "Wrote to Captain Beaufort, R.N. (Hydrographer), requesting that Lieutenant Orlebar's appointment might be confirmed, and he be allowed to stay as assistant surveyor."

On the 2nd January, 1836, he writes: "Paid more than a hundred visits, and received as many in the two days."

There is an entry against the 17th February of that year, as follows: "I supplied to Mr. Henderson a trace copy of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the Saguenay River, upon a very small scale; also, the latitude and longitude of Montreal and Three Rivers. The object, being to serve as a base for making a map of the routes of the various exploring parties that have been sent out from time to time to examine the country north of the St. Lawrence. The map is for the Literary and Historical Society."

Against the 4th April, 1836, there is the following entry: "I received a letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty, informing me that I and my officers had been placed on half pay in common with other officers employed in the Surveying Service on shore. I answered representing that our case was that of officers employed at sea during the whole of the navigable season, and the same in every respect (excepting that our vessel is hired) as that of officers employed in a man-of-war surveying vessel. I therefore prayed that the new regulation would not be extended to us."

There is unluckily a gap in the journals here of four years and eight months, during which time no doubt many interesting events occurred. There was certainly one of great interest to himself, for on the 2nd April, 1838, Captain Bayfield was married in Quebec to Fanny, only daughter of Captain (afterwards General) Charles Wright, Royal Engineers.

In January, 1841, Bayfield's assistants are Lieutenants Orlebar and George Augustus Bedford, R.N., the latter in place of Mr. Bowen probably, and on the 15th of that month, he says: "I write in my own home when I have accounts to settle, bills to draw, or trigonometrical and astronomical calculations to make, because I find that I can proceed with such work when alone and uninterrupted much better than I can at the office, where also our accommodation is only good for drawing, for which the tables are made."

On the 8th April of that year, Mr. Stevenson, now the owner of the Gulnare, introduces Lieutenant Twiss, R.N., half-pay, to Bayfield. He is engaged as sailing master.

A little later the Gulnare is examined: "Agreeable to my request, Mr. Munn, one of the principal shipbuilders of Quebec and a man universally esteemed, is to inspect the Gulnare as to her efficiency, and Mr. Stevenson will abide by his opinion. She will be opened along the water line and at the covering board."

At the end of April, Bayfield is making preparations for the transference of the headquarters to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, the work now lying in the eastern part of the Gulf. On the 1st May, he writes: "We were obliged to evacuate our office because the Union Buildings, in which the Colonial Government assigned us an office, are to be given up to the proprietors, and are to be let as an inn or an hotel."

Under date of the 20th, he says: "Our boats' masts are not finished, the recent fall of the Cape Diamond cliff having crushed the mast-maker's house, and killed part of the family of one of his workmen."

On the 27th May: "Gave Lieutenant Orlebar orders to take command and charge of the Gulnare and all which she contains, and proceed to Charlottetown, P.E.I."

On the 28th, he states: "Painful leave-taking of our numerous friends of thirteen years' standing. Received the thanks of the Trinity House of Quebec on the 26th, in a set of resolutions of that body, very handsomely worded and delivered to me by the Honorable J. Stewart in person. Wrote a letter of thanks."

The resolutions and Bayfield's reply, taken from the Quebec Gazette of 2nd June, 1841, are as follows: "Resolved that this Board entertain a high sense of the talents and scientific acquirements of Captain Bayfield. Resolved that the thanks of this Board be tendered to Captain Bayfield for the advice and assistance he has on different occasions rendered to this corporation; that, while they express their regret that the province is so soon to be deprived of his valuable services, the Board offer their best wishes for his future prosperity and happiness. Ordered, that the Master be requested to wait upon Captain Bayfield, and communicate to him the foregoing resolution."

Bayfield replies: "Dear Sir:—I request that you will receive yourself and favour me by communicating to the Trinity Board of Quebec, my best thanks for the highly honourable testimonial, contained in the resolutions, which you have this day delivered to me. Whilst, in my official capacity, I place the highest value upon the favourable opinion which the Board has done me the honour to express of my public services, I receive with no less gratification the expression of their regret at my approaching departure from the Province, and their kind wishes for my future prosperity and happiness. Begging that you will accept for yourself and them, the assurance of the same good wishes, I have the honour to be, Sir, your humble servant, Henry W. Bayfield, Captain R.N."

The Quebec Mercury of 1st June, 1841, writes, in connection with the departure of the party: "It is almost superflous to say that Captain Bayfield's services are held

in the highest admiration by professional men and by the Lords of the Admiralty; since, during his employment upon this duty, he has been successively promoted to Lieutenant, Commander and Post Captain, and received other flattering proofs of the value set upon his able and unremitting exertions in the service assigned to him; in the execution of which he has added largely not only to professional information, but has amassed geological facts relating to the extensive regions he has surveyed, in which little scientific investigation has previously been made. Captain Bayfield has passed the last fourteen years in Quebec, and is, with his accomplished lady, whom he here married, highly esteemed in the leading society of the place. It must not be omitted to be stated that he was a warm supporter of the Literary and Historical Society in this city, and of which, we believe, he was one of the original members, and the contributor of some valuable papers. Dr. Kelly of the same service, has likewise been long a winter resident of Quebec, and is equally esteemed by a numerous circle of friends and acquaintance. To him, also, the transactions of the Society are indebted for several valuable papers." (He was President for the years 1839 and 1840, and Vice-President for several years after.) "We have spoken of these officers particularly, because their long residence and part borne in literary and scientific pursuits has, in some sort, rendered them public characters. The Lieutenants attached to this service are equally estimable men, and the party now withdrawn from Quebec is an additional loss to the diminishing circle of its society."

On May 29th, Bayfield leaves Quebec for Charlottetown, and says: "At 11.50 a.m. the Royal Mail Steamer Unicorn cast off from the Government wharf, and we proceeded down the river with all those feelings which are experienced by most people when leaving a place and friends with whom they have been intimately associated for many years. We looked upon the magnificent scenery of the Basin of Quebec as what we might ne'er see again. I had with me on board the Unicorn my own family, and

those of Lieutenants Orlebar and Bedford; Dr. Kelly also accompanies me. There are, therefore, three ladies, five children, five nurses, two men servants and the wife and child of one of them; two horses and innumerable cases, boxes, chests, etc. Captain Walter Douglas of the Unicorn, was formerly master of the Gulnare, serving under me in the years 1828-29. He was extremely kind to me and our party. The steamship Unicorn is a very fine vessel of nearly 700 tons, and magnificenly fitted up."

On the 1st June he arrives at Charlottetown, and says: "My house not being in a habitable state, my friend the Honble. T. Heath Haviland kindly received me and my family, also Dr. Kelly. Mrs. Orlebar and Mrs. Bedford went into lodgings until the arrival of the Gulnare. Waited upon the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy."

The survey appears to have been principally carried on in Prince Edward Island this year, 1841, and the following entries show that some of the crew give trouble:—

"June 11th. Two men deserted from the Gulnare; advertized them, theatening to prosecute anyone who might receive or harbour them;" and, again, on the 26th: "The boatswain, in the second gig, was sent to the Island" (the ship is in Bedeque Harbour, P.E.I.) "to cut brooms, but instead of landing, they proceeded over to the mainland. Mr. Twiss, the master, found him in a public house with the boat's crew, drinking, for which he forfeits his extra ten shillings pay per month. He stopped ashore all night, got drunk and lost his silver 'call' on the 17th at Charlottetown, which I looked over because he seemed to have been led into such conduct by the boatswain of H.M.S. Ringdove, whom he was with. The price of the 'call' will be charged against him, however, unless his conduct is better. The truth is, that we have not sufficient power by the 'Merchant Seamen's Act,' and what we might have, is thrown away by the perncious system of giving a month's pay in advance."

Again, on the 17th July: "The boatswain, Forster, and a seaman, Campbell, whom the former seems to have in-

duced, were detected in tapping the rum cask, which has not been secured as I desired. I directed both to be sent on shore and any wages they might have due, to be detained."

On the 5th of August, the Gulnare is at Pictou, and Bayfield says: "There was a large French man-of-war brig lying here, but the service I am engaged upon not admitting of delay or waste of time, I did not communicate with her."

In the middle of the same month, at the same port, he states: "Robinson, the coxswain of my gig, came on board drunk and threatened to knock the second master down and throw the master overboard. The man ought to have been taken out of the vessel to jail immediately, but little exertion of any kind to repress such conduct appears to have been made by the master. On the matter being reported to me, I ordered Robinson to be dismissed from the vessel without his wages, and with a discharge stating it was for mutinous conduct."

The party and ship winter at Charlottetown, and on the 13th November, 1841, Bayfield says: "The small steamer Pocahontas from Pictou brought the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. V. Huntley."

On the 13th May, 1842, he notes: "Wrote to Mr. Stevenson a letter to await his arrival in the Unicorn at Pictou, informing him that no seamen were to be obtained here, and pointing out the neessity of his sending express to Halifax for seamen, if he had not brought down the requisite number from Quebec."

It appears that the contract time for hire of the Gulnare is still from 20th May to 1st November.

On the 24th May, he says: "We could do but little today, being obliged to attend the Lieutenant-Governor at the Review and Levée held on the Queen's Birthday. It was a holiday, and the Gulnare was decorated and covered with flags, looking very pretty on the occasion."

On the 26th, Bayfield mentions the birth of his second son, and under date of the 28th: "The Honble. James

Peake will act as Mr. Stevenson's agent at this place, with full powers in all matters relating to the Gulnare."

By an entry on the 16th June, Mr. Parry appears now to have superseded Lieutenant Twiss, R.N., as master of the Gulnare.

The survey during the summer of 1842 was prosecuted in Northumberland Strait about Pictou, and on the south coast of Prince Edward Island.

On the 11th July, Bayfield says: "We gave ourselves and all hands a holiday to-day" (they are at Charlottetown), "the third in fourteen years; all the early part of the day, however, was occupied in cleaning the ship completely, fore and aft. We sailed three of the boats in the afternoon."

Under date of the 17th, he remarks. "This, if it had not been the Sabbath, would have been a day in which we could have sounded over 70 miles. I am convinced, however, that there is nothing lost in the long run by doing right, although I do not vainly and presumptuously expect that the course of nature should be altered by Him who sendeth the rain upon the just and the unjust."

Under date of 29th July, he says: "I had to descend to my cabin to plot the angles for each of these 41 positions, and many additional times to consult the chart for the course to be steered, so that I am sure I may say that I have run up and down the ladder, to and from my cabin, 60 or 70 times during the day; and this is nothing extraordinary but what I have to do on any day which is favourable for our work."

On the 5th August, while the ship is at Pictou, Bayfield receives a visit from Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Lyell, who came on board for the discussion of geological matters."

On the 8th: "The Honble. Samuel Cunard, accompanied by Mr. Beggs the Collector of Customs, and by Mr. Ross agent for steamboats, paid me a visit on board today."

Under date of the 10th: "Found eight hours' work plotting too much for me, and determined to work more moderately in the future."

On the 11th: "Many meteors or shooting stars to-night, as there were during the two previous nights." (The August shower or the Persiads, which annually occur on these three nights.)

On the 25th August, Bayfield says: "Mr. Donaldson, one of the Commissioners for Light Houses in the Province of New Brunswick, paid me a visit" (the ship is at Pictou) "in connection with previous officcial correspondence. He was on his way to the Magdalen Islands, which belong to his son-in-law, Captain Coffin, R.N."

On the 7th September, Mr. Simon Dodd the pilot is paid 51 pounds, 10 shillings, Halifax currency, wages for 103 days at 10s. per diem. Mr. Parry the master of the Gulnare, seems to interest himself in the surveying work, especially in the measurement of base lines, in which he greatly assisted Bayfield.

On the 11th September, at Charlottetown, he says: "The Bishop of Nova Scotia confirmed 49 persons, among whom I was one, not having been confirmed before, in consequence of going to sea too young, and neglect after wards."

Two days later, Lieutenant Orlebar goes to England on leave: "We all took leave of Lieutenant Orlebar and his family. They carry with them our best wishes, for they are deservedly esteemed by all."

October 10th: "Considering and answering the propositions submitted to me by Captain Boxer, R.N., the Captain of the Port of Quebec, respecting the improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence."

"On the 16th October, 1842, H.M. Surveying Steamer Columbia, and my old friend and Commander, W. F. W. Owen R.N., arrived at Charlottetown. He took up his quarters with us." Captain William Fitzwilliam Owen R.N., was at this time in command of the survey of the Atlantic coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A

brief summary of his services, it will be remembered, was given when he was first mentioned in connection with Bayfield's serving under him on the Great Lakes, 1815-1816.

The next day, Bayfield says: "Lieutenant Bedford and Captain Owen's assistants were on board the Gulnare, making tracings of such of our surveys as Captain Owen required for the purpose of joining his intended survey of the Bay of Fundy to our stations, etc, etc."

On the 20th October, the party being now at Charlottetown for the winter, he says: "I was occupied in writing to Captain Boxer R.N. of Quebec, respecting improvements in the navigation of the St. Lawrence, their Lordships of the Admiralty having referred him to me."

On the 24th May, Bayfield remarks: "The Queen's Birthday; our people therefore did not work. The Gulnare dressed out with flags, looked extremely well. Mr. Stevenson" (the owner of the vessel) "sent a barrel of beer on board for the men's dinner on this gala day. We issue no grog, having experienced it to be the cause of almost all the trouble that occurs among seamen."

On the 31st May, Bayfield is at Charlottetown, preparing for sea, and says: "Our hands are full, and unfortunately there are not hands enough for the duty which we have to perform; too much of my time being necessarily occupied in doing the duty of a clerk or midshipman."

There is trouble with the crew on the 6th and 7th June, on the eve of sailing: "The second master, Mr. Melville, having been drunk and fighting with the men last night, I ordered him to be discharged. Two seamen, Everett and West, deserted."

The Gulnare is at the end of June in Pugwash Roads, Nova Scotia, Lieutenant Orlebar having rejoined from leave. Bayfield states on the 30th: "I proceeded on shore to wait upon Captain Owen R.N., and had a long conference with him respecting the connection of our respective surveys, and the settlement of the longitude of the pillar in the dockyard at Halifax as a meridian common to us both. He is to station a party wit[illegible] midway be-

tween the head of Cumberland Basin, Bay of Fundy, and Tignish, Bay Verte. The Columbia will lie at the former and the Gulnare at the latter. On the night of the 7th July we are to have chronometers rated, and the instant of explosion is to be noted at both vessels, and thus measure the difference of longitude across. Lieutenant Shortland brought a chronometer overland to compare with ours." Lieutenant (afterwards Admiral) Peter Shortland was a very talented surveying officer, who took the unusual course of obtaining leave from the Admiralty to study the higher mathematics at Cambridge University, graduating therefrom, a "wrangler." He succeeded Owen in command of the Bay of Fundy survey in 1847.

"July 7th Lieutenant Shortland of the H.M.S. Columbia, arrived with chronometer and a note from Captain Owen, informing me that he (Capt. O.) was at a point about midway between the two vessels with the rockets, which he intended superintending the firing of himself."

July 8th he adds: "Altogether we saw and marked the time of the explosion of six out of the eight rockets. In the preceding evening I had calculated up the rates of the chronometers, so that altogether I retired to rest well tired with the day's work at 1 h. 30 m. a.m."

July 26th, 1843: "Mr. Heath Haviland came on board from Charlottetown, to take a cruise for his health with us at my invitation. He is the eldest son of my friend the Honble. T. Heath Haviland, Colonial Secretary of Prince Edward Island."

July 29th the Gulnare was at Halifax, and Bayfield says: "Called on the Lieutenant-Governour, Lord Falkland. One of Captain Owen's officers called on board, informing me that the Columbia was in Bedford Basin, and that observations with rockets would be made to-night. Accordingly we looked out and observed several of them. They were distinctly seen by us, though distant 28 miles."

At Pictou, on the 15th August, he relates: "A large ship, the George, of Dundee, arrived to-day with a signal adopted here for sickness on board, viz., the ensign at the

main, union downwards. Thinking it a signal of distress, I sent a boat to her assistance, but, fortunately, warned the officer in her to ask the question if there was sickness on board, so that we escape being in quarantine by not going on board."

At the same place, on the 2nd September: "Found H.M.S. Tweed lying off the town of Pictou. Her Commander, H. D. C. Douglas, an old acquaintance of other years on the lakes of Canada, came on board and paid us a visit."

October 5th, at Charlottetown: "Mr. Stevenson brought the good news of Lieutenant Bedford's promotion to Commander."

On December 4th, 1843: "Visited the Gulnare and found her so decayed that I consider her unfit to be retained in H.M. Service. Wrote officially to Mr. Stevenson, notifying him that the contract must be considered to have ceased, unless he would consent to replace the old Gulnare by a new Gulnare of 175 tons, to be built here under my inspection and to be ready on the 20th May next. The new vessel to be subject to all the conditions of the contract for the old one, and to be manned, victualled and equipped in the same manner, and to be employed next season or longer, at the option of the Admiralty."

Under date of 7th December, 1843: "The Hydrographer decides that Lieutenant Orlebar, though junior in the service to Commander Bedford, is to be senior as an Assistant Surveyor."

December 8th: "The want of a clerk or other person to assist me in writing, is severely felt, which may be imagined when I state that I wrote fourteen pages of foolscap to-day."

Bayfield states on 12th February, 1844: "Captain Vaughan, from Canada, delivered to me this morning an official letter from the Honble. H. H. Killaly, President of the Canadian Board of Works, requesting my opinion as to the line of operations best to be adopted for deepening

Lake St. Peter." Captain Bayfield sends in his recommendations.

February 25th: "Mail informed me of Commander Bedford's appointment to a survey in Ireland, and directing me to discharge him from this service as soon as navigation opens."

March 4th: "Engaged on the 1st, Mr. Stuart of Rosebank to assist in making the fair drawings, but finding he could not draw sufficiently well, I discharged him to-day, paying him £1 3s 9d., island currency, for four days' attendance at the office."

Commander Bedford left Charlottetown for England on 29th April, and Bayfield says: "Their departure, after being with us four and one-half years, seems quite a chasm in our happy little party, for his conduct, official and private, has been excellent." Commander (afterwards Admiral) George Augustus Bedford, after conducting surveys in Ireland and Scotland, succeeded Mr. Michael Walker at the Admiralty as Assistant Hydrographer in 1862.

May 7th: "Wrote to Sir Charles Adam, Commander-in-Chief, requesting him to view favourably the intended application of Lieutenant John Hancock, of H.M.S. Pique, to be allowed to join this service."

May 16th: "Mr. and Mrs. Stevenson and two Misses Hale (the latter Lieutenant Orlebar's sisters-in-law) arrived here from Quebec."

May 18th: "The Gulnare was launched and christened by Lady Huntley, the Governour and almost everybody in the place attending; but a sad accident destroyed the satisfaction we should otherwise have felt on the occasion. One of our best men got into the bow to try to save the bottle of water which he supposed wine, used in the ceremony, and had his hand so badly injured from the discharge of the ship's gun, that it had to be amputated. Mr. Duncan of Charlottetown built the vessel, and Captain Bayfield expresses himself well pleased with the liberality of her equipment. The Gulnare departs from Charlottetown in the early part of June with Mr. Mavor as master and a Mr. Ellis as the second master.

On the 2nd July, Bayfield is at Tignish, Bay Verte, and says: "Between 9 and 10 p.m. observed the explosion of ten out of eleven rockets for difference of longitude between Bay Verte and Bay of Fundy. The next day Bayfield drives across the isthmus and dines on board the Columbia.

On the 9th July, 1844, he is at Charlottetown, and remarks: "Found lying here H.M. Sloop Scylla, Commander Robert Sharpe, an old acquaintance of mine, we having served together on the Canadian lakes at the close of the War with the United States. I intend to leave Lieutenant Orlebar to work on the north coast of Prince Edward Island, while I proceed in vessel to make the important chronometric measurements designed to accurately connect the meridians of Quebec, Halifax and St. John's Newfoundland, Captain Owen having done the same by Boston and Halifax."

On the 30th July, he is at St. John's Newfoundland, and says: "Found lying here H.M.S. Eurydice, Captain G. Elliot. On my returning from my morning observation at the Chain Rock battery, I found a midshipman of the Eurydice on board, who had been sent to enquire what vessel we were, and he returned with full information. Nevertheless, when I returned again from the noon observations, I found that a small boat with two men without an officer, had been sent to order the Master, Mr. Mavor of the Gulnare, on board the Eurydice, and that the pennant should be hauled down. The next day Captain Elliot called upon me, and although he made no allusion to the affair of yesterday, I suppose I may conclude his calling as an acknowledgement that he was wrong. At any rate, it is not worth further consideration."

On the 1st August, Bayfield writes: "I returned Captain Elliot's visit to-day and was shewn all over the vessel, a fine new 26 gun ship of about 700 tons."

On the 6th, the Gulnare leaves St. John's: "With the sanction of the Governour Sir John Harvey, the mail steamer North America, bound to Halifax, towed us out of harbour." He has a tedious voyage to Prince Edward

Island, saying, on the 13th: "This has been a very fine day, the first without fog out of fourteen, but it is weary work making so little progress day after day."

Lieutenant Hancock R.N., joined the survey on the 6th September; and on the 12th Captain Bayfield proceeds to England on leave: "Left Charlottetown on the 12th in steamer St. George, our party consisting of Mrs. Bayfield and our two oldest children, Miss Anwyl and Dr. Kelly R.N., Miss M. Hale (Mrs. Orlebar's sister) accompanying us as far as Pictou, on her way to Quebec. Arrived at Dartmouth at 6 h. 30 m., p.m., on the 14th, crossed the harbour in our coach and four horses, and at 7 arrived at the Halifax Hotel. On the 16th took places in the Royal Mail Steamer Hibernia, expected from Boston on the 18th. Terms, £24 sterling per head, children and servants half price.

"Arrived in Liverpool in nine and one-half days from Halifax, difference of time allowed for, and were received by my father-in-law, Major Wright. On the 4th October, I arrived in London after 17 years' absence."

On the 15th October, Captain Bayfield pays a visit to his sister, Lady Page Turner, at Cippenham House.

Under date of 15th November, 1844, he remarks: "Wrote also to the Hydrographer, stating expenditure for the quarter, etc. This does not feel much like being on leave, though!"

On the 19th November, is the following entry: "Waited upon Sir George Cockburn, stating to him the unfavourable position in which I and my officers have been so long placed by being kept on half pay nine years, contrary to the understanding at the commencement of the survey, and of the practice of the first eight years. He advised that I should address the Board and seemed favourable to the justice of my request that we should be borne on the books of the Admiral's ship on the Station." Bayfield's application succeeded, for on the 25th he says: "Received official intimation from Sir John Barrow" (the able Secretary of the Admiralty at that time) "of my appointment as additional Captain of H.M.S. Illustrious (the flagship on the North American Station)."

A week later he is informed that Lieutenants Orlebar and Hancock, together with Dr. Kelly, are also placed on the books of H.M.S. Illustrious. In the first week of 1845, Bayfield's opinion and suggestions, in regard to a proposed observatory at Quebec, are asked by the Hydrographer. An observatory was erected near the present time-ball on the Citadel, the foundation still remaining, and Lieutenant Ashe, R.N. appointed by the Admiralty in 1850 as astronomer in charge. It was demolished in 1874, the present observatory taking its place.

On the 24th February he hears that Mr. William Forbes, Master, R.N., is appointed as his third naval assistant. Orlebar appears to have been promoted to Commander early in this year, 1845.

On the 20th May, Bayfield writes: "From 9th April, when I left London, to this day of my departure from Liverpool in the Royal Mail Steamer Cambria, I was on leave, and felt myself so, being for the first time since my arrival in England entirely free from official business."

Bayfield says, on arrival at Charlottetown on the 4th June: "After an absence of eight months, have been restored to our home and the theatre of our duties in health and with hearts swelling with thankfulness to the Giver of all good."

Mr. William Forbes, Master, R.N., arrives on the 7th June, 1845, and Mr. Thomas DesBrisay, of Charlottetown, is engaged as draughtsman, and I may mention that I had the pleasure of the latter's acquaintance, being present in church at Charlottetown when he was reading the lessons in April, 1881, and had an epileptic seizure, causing his death.

July 16th, the Gulnare is at Charlottetown, and Bayfield says: "Found the master of the vessel had succeeded in recovering the best bower anchor and chain, by which he has saved himself from having to pay the value of them out of his wages, since I should certainly have charged them against him, as they were lost by his neglect."

The season's operations were carried on during 1845 in Prince Edward Island, at the close of which Bayfield returns to Charlottetown for the winter. Atlantic passages were longer then than now, for on November 4th there is an entry of the arrival at Charlottetown of the brig British Union, 62 days from London. On the 12th January, 1846, Lieutenant John Hancock R.N. marries Miss Elizabeth Cambridge, eldest daughter of Lemuel Cambridge Esq. of Prince Edward Island.

May 22nd, 1846, Bayfield states: "Arrived from Quebec our Canadian boatmen and a boatswain, with eight seamen for the Gulnare," and on 2nd June: "Thus have I commenced the nineteenth year of the survey afloat, with all on board in good health and all we left ashore the same. We ought to be, and I trust, are, thankful."

Under date of 8th June, he writes: "Wrote to Mr. Paine, the astronomer of Boston, sending him the times of the occultation of Spica Virginis on the 8th ultimo, in hopes of comparison with corresponding observations." (With a view to difference of longitude.)

On the 9th, at Port Hood, Cape Breton Island, Bayfield says: "Great changes appear to have taken place in this fine harbour since the time of Des Barres, 1779."

As Bayfield mentions Des Barres again, later on, a short account of this energetic and talented officer may be interesting.

Colonel Joseph Frederic Willet Des Barres, born in 1722, was the descendant of French Hugenots, who, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, emigrated to England. He entered the British army, was present at the seige of Louisbourg in 1758, and at the taking of Quebec in 1759. He repaired the fortifications of this city, and assisted in designing those of Halifax. In 1762, he was at the retaking of St. John's, Newfoundland, where he met Captain Cook, and with whom he did some hydrographic work in Conception Bay.

From 1763 to 1780 Colonel Des Barres was employed under the direction of the Lords Commissioners of the Ad-

miralty, in making a collection of charts of the east coast of North America for the use of the Royal Navy. These charts were published by him in 1780, 1781, in large volumes, bearing the title of the "Atlantic Neptune," a copy of which this Society possesses. The charts of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island appear to be from surveys by Des Barres himself, the remainder from surveys by Major Samuel Holland, "Surveyor-General of the Northern Districts of North America," and his assistants. Colonel Des Barres was, in 1784, appointed Governour of the Province of Cape Breton Island, and in 1804, Lieutenant-Governour of Prince Edward Island. He died in Halifax in 1825, aged 102 years.

On the 30th June Bayfield is at Pictou, and says: "The variable winds to-day caused us to make, shorten and trim sails repeatedly, and this, together with the deep sea lead going every five or six minutes, made a very heavy day's work for the men, who were at work from 4 h. 30 m. a.m., to 9 h. 30 m. p.m. It was this that induced me to anchor, that they might have the benefit of the night to rest."

August 5th: "Caught codfish in abundance, one of them weighing 73 pounds. We have sounded over 50 miles to-day."

On the 12th of August, 1846, the Gulnare calls at Charlottetown, and Bayfield says: "We should have been ready for sea at night, but for the bad conduct of two of our crew, Macatee and Stalker, who refused duty in hopes of being discharged, and then getting the twelve pounds offered to seamen for the run home in the new ships."

The Gulnare is at Pictou on the 23rd August, 1846, and Bayfield says: "Found here orders from the Admiralty to proceed to Canada and put myself at the disposal of the Governour-General for the examination of the channels of Lake St. Peter, with a view to the excavation of a channel."

On 9th September, the Gulnare is at Montreal, and Bayfield writes: "Waited upon the Governor-General,

Lord Cathcart, and having learnt his wishes, put myself in communication with the Commissioners of Public Works. The Honble. W. B. Robinson, of Toronto, is an old friend of mine, and dined with us."

On 14th September: "Commander Orlebar requested and obtained leave to proceed to Sherbrooke to visit his brother-in-law, the Honble. E. Hale, and to bring down his nephew Mr. E. Cary, who is going to join H.M. Surveying Steamer Columbia.

On the 19th: "Proceeded to Monkland, the residence of the Governour-in-Chief, Lord Cathcart, and presented my report on the navigation of Lake St. Peter. The Governour-General wished me and my officers to stay and dine, but being anxious to proceed on account of the lateness of the season, and thinking, moreover, that as the duty entrusted to me was executed I had no business to be absent from my station any longer than I could possibly help, I declared my intention to commence my return immediately, if his Lordship had no further commands."

On her passage back from Montreal, under date of 20th September, 1846, Captain Bayfield says: Ran over the flats of Lake St. Peter in 8½ feet water, or 6 inches less than the vessel drew. At 6 p.m., anchored off Port Neuf, and, with Commander Orlebar and Dr. Kelly, called upon our old friend Mr. Edward Hale, the Seigneur of Port Neuf."

23rd September, at Quebec: "Paid the Montreal and Quebec Steamboat Company £41 15s. sterling for towing the Gulnare up from Quebec to Montreal."

On the 9th October the vessel is at Charlottetown: "The Gulnare was hove down, keel out, to-day at the wharf; a great deal of copper had been rubbed off her keel and stern and some of her bilge; hence shewing the necessity of what we are doing. Gave the necessary directions for her repairs."

The next day: "Employed balancing accounts and counting and packing up public money, which being partly in sixpences and shillings, took a considerable time."

Under date of 11th February, 1847, Bayfield says: "Examining and destroying old papers, being purser's accounts of schooner Recovery, which I commanded in 1823, 24 and 25, on Lake Superior."

On the 16th he remarks: "Commenced making fair copy of list of Variations through forty degrees of longitude, from the year 1816 to 1846, inclusive, and at night attempted to observe an immersion of Jupiter's first satellite, but did not succeed well on account of the wind and extreme cold, the thermometer being twelve degrees below zero at the time."

Under date of 23rd February, 1847, Bayfield says: "Received a letter from the Hydrographer, Admiral Beaufort, limiting the annual expenditure of this service to £2,400 sterling, exclusive of the pay and allowances of myself and officers."

On the 18th March: "Received a communication from the Admiralty, informing me that the Governour-General of Canada had been desired to put himself into communication with me respecting harbours of refuge in the St. Lawrence River and Gulf, and directing me to give full replies to any questions he might put to me on that subject."

22nd April: "Computing occultation of Spica observed by Captain Owen, R.N., at Campo Bello last May, and found his observations and mine to agree."

Under date of 21st May, he remarks: "The Lieutenant-Governour, Sir H. V. Huntley, inspected our fair plans (eight large sheets), the result of our winter's labours."

On the 2nd June, Bayfield says: "Yesterday, the pinnace and launch, under Lieutenant Hancock and Mr. Forbes, provisioned for four weeks with crews of eight and seven men respectively, departed for Georgetown. We have thus commenced the twentieth year of the survey afloat, the whole party in health and those we leave on shore tolerably so. May the Great and Gracious Giver of all good gifts make us thankful."

On the 22nd June, the Gulnare is at Port Hood again, Cape Breton Island, and Bayfield remarks: "Proceeded on shore to examine the geological formation of Smith's Island; the relation of the beds of gypsum to the coal strata among which they are found being full of interest to the geologist."

The vessel is at Charlottetown on the 12th July, and he adds: "The second master, Mr. Canfield, got drunk and refused to come off. As I could not suffer him to retain his situation if brought on board by constables in a state of intoxication, I was obliged to order him to be left behind, the loss of his situation being as heavy a punishment as I thought it necessary to inflict."

On the 6th August Captain Bayfield leaves Trepassey Harbour, south coast of Newfoundland, having made a survey of that locality in connection with the choice of a site for a lighthouse on Cape Pine, at the request of Sir Gaspard le Merchant, Governour of Newfoundland. Bayfield, before leaving Canada for Newfoundland, had left Commander Orlebar and Mr. Thomas Des Brisay with their boats and tents, on the north coast of Cape Breton Island, and in communicating again with them on 25th August, he found that Mr. Des Brisay and his boat's crew had nearly lost their lives. He says: "On the 6th Mr. Des Brisay with the launch, were blown off the land by a heavy squall from the high land of Cape St. Lawrence. They were at sea for 30 hours in the greatest peril, and were eventually saved by getting on board a small sloop, which was also driving before the squall with all her sails split. The people saved the plans, instruments, etc. The boat being lightened of the men and things, rode out the gale astern of the sloop. They all landed at Aspée Bay, completely exhausted."

On the 15th October, the Gulnare is back at Charlottetown for the winter, and Bayfield finds a letter from Captain Owen, saying that he was ordered home in the Columbia, and would sail from Halifax on the 1st November.

On the 20th Bayfield says: "Returned all the powder except a few cartridges for the gun for signals, and a few rounds of ball cartridges for the six musquets which I retain as sufficient with the cutlasses, if ever I should be called upon to aid the civil power. The large quantity of musquets we have hitherto carried has ever been a useless lumber, although necessary formerly when we were on the Labrador Coast, and also as a precaution during the time of the troubles in Canada."

On the 9th September, Bayfield notes: "The new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald Campbell, Baronet, arrived this morning by a schooner from Pictou."

There is a gap in the journals here until February, 1851, but a few facts have been extracted from a letter book covering approximately this period.

In a letter to the Assistant Hydrographer Mr. Michael Walker on the 23rd of November of this year, 1847, Captain Bayfield says: "I believe I have no news to give you, unless it be the birth of a fifth child and fourth son on the 28th ultimo, which will show you that that sort of riches is increasing with me much faster than any other is ever likely to do."

In addition to Bayfield's purely professional duties, it will be seen from the following, dated Charlottetown, 22nd May, 1848, that the keeping of accounts and correspondence therewith, must have made a considerable inroad upon his valuable time:—

"Sir:—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., requesting me to return the tents specified therein to the Ordnance Storekeeper at Quebec. In reply, I have the honour to inform you that these tents, which are always half worn when supplied to us, are used by the officers and boats' crews who are constantly detached on service from this vessel, until they are completely unserviceable, and then they are cut up and painted for floor-cloths for the men to sleep upon, and for bags, thus saving the expense of purchasing materials for those indispensable purposes. Such has hitherto

been our practice, and as it diminishes the expense of this service in some degree, I have thought it best to inform you of it and to request to know if you still wish me to return the useless, wornout tents to the Ordnance Department at Quebec, which could only be done by shipping them in some vessel that may be going there.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"HENRY W. BAYFIELD,
"Captain, Surveying Gulf of St. Lawrence."

"The Honble. Robert Dundas,
"Storekeeper- General of H.M. Navy."

Bayfield, in a letter to the Hydrographer dated 8th June, 1848, mentions probably the greatest Canadian coast change (Sable Island excluded) of which there is any record. He says: "Another point of some importance to the geologist as well as the seaman, is the change which has taken place in the last twenty years in the still fine harbour of Port Hood, Cape Breton Island; where a range of high and partly wooded sandhills, which formed the head of the harbour, has been swept away by the sea and a channel formed two-thirds of a mile wide and fully nine feet deep at low water." I may incidentally mention here that I resounded this harbour in 1873, and found there had been no further change.

That Bayfield's officers were occasionally entrusted to make latitude observations is evidenced by the following extract from his written orders to Lieutenant J. Hancock, R.N., 6th July, 1848: " . . . You had better also observe at some station in Aspée Bay" (Cape Breton Island) "in order that we may see how much your sextant differs from the known latitude of those points."

Apropos of the Society's recent unearthing of several folios of charts of the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, etc. (already alluded to), many of which charts were by Des

Barres, some remarks by Bayfield on the latter's charts may be of interest.

These remarks are extracted from a letter to the Hydrographer Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, on the 17th November, 1848. " . . . I beg leave also to suggest to you the discontinuance of the chart of the Island of Cape Breton, or any other of Des Barres charts, for they might possibly cause the loss of one of Her Majesty's ships, supposing her to run for shelter, either to Ste. Anne's Harbour or the Great Bras d'Or, the former being represented to have ten fathoms in the entrance, where there are only thirteen feet of water; and the other, deep water in the place of the most dangerous shoals."

Here Bayfield relates how one of his assistants witnessed three vessels running in a gale for the breakers at the entrance of the Great Bras d'Or, and adds: "I have related this occurrence in order that you may perceive the evil that these charts of Des Barres may produce, for they are in general sufficiently nearly correct in the delineation of the shores to inspire confidence, which is also increased by the pretension about them from their large scale, etc., but which in the important matters of shoals and soundings especially, they are totally undeserving of. I do not know whether these charts are, or are not issued to Her Majesty's ships, but as they were supplied to me, it has occurred to me that they might be issued as the best that could be had. I believe the map makers compile from them."

During the summer of 1848, the party was employed on the coast of Cape Breton Island, together with the Gut of Canso and its approaches.

In his account of the survey to, and by request of the Lieutenant-Governour of Prince Edward Island, Sir Donald Campbell, Baronet, 16th December, 1848, Bayfield states the yearly expense of the survey (defrayed, of course, by the British Admiralty) was £3,900, not including the general service pay of the officers.

From the following extract from a letter to the Admiralty Hydrographer, dated 12th June, 1849, it would look as if a reduction in the annual vote for scientific services which include Admiralty Surveys) was contemplated. He says: "I have not in the least exaggerated the defects of the old charts of the Gulf, Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. There are none of them that can with any degree of safety be trusted by the seaman, excepting those of Cook and Lane. At least, none have come under my observation that are not a reproach to this age of improved hydrography. When I consider the still greater ignorance that exists respecting the coasts of many other countries, I cannot but think that the Select Committee might at least have touched more lightly a department so evidently useful to the world."

One of Bayfield's officers complained in writing of being ordered to cross Northumberland Strait in his open boat and of other discomforts, which drew from Bayfield the following reply, dated 26th October, 1849: "Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd inst., representing to me the discomfort experienced by yourself and crew during your return voyage in your boat from Guysborough, from exposure to the weather; from having no other accommodation provided by the service than that afforded by canvas tents; the risk of crossing the Straits, etc., etc. In reply, however I may differ from you in my estimate of the amount of discomfort and risk attending the discharge of the duty in question, I shall on this occasion content myself with reminding you that the discomfort, exposure and alleged risk which you have deemed it necessary to make the subject of an official communication to me, are in no respect different from what have been cheerfully undergone often in far greater degree by other officers who have been attached to this service since its commencement in 1827, and I may add that I myself up to a much later period of life than you have yet reached, and even when holding my present rank, have not hesitated to impose them on myself when I considered the service required it.

"All, therefore, that I can further add, and I do it with pleasure as being due to the respectful manner in which you have submitted this matter to my consideration, is the assurance that the comfort of the officers serving under me will ever continue to be regarded by me, as far as the faithful discharge of the duties of the service we are employed upon, will permit."

The following letter from Bayfield in connection with the departure of a party of "Forty-Niners" to California from Charlottetown, may be of interest:—

"Having been requested to furnish the Californian Association, now about to sail from this port in the brig Fanny, with a certificate which it has been thought may prove useful to them during the progress of their enterprise, I hereby certify all whom it may concern that a residence of nine winters in Charlottetown enables me to bear testimony, generally, to the steady, sober and industrious character of the members of the Association, whose names are upon the annexed paper.

"From the character of the parties and the testimony of the numerous persons connected with them in this town, I have no doubt in believing the objects of the Association to be simply such as are stated on the annexed paper, to which I have affixed my signature, and I have, therefore, no hesitation in commending them to the favourable consideration, kind offices and, if need be, assistance of any of Her Majesty's officers whom they may chance to meet.

"Given under my hand at Charlottetown, P.E.I., the 6th day of November, 1849,

"HENRY W. BAYFIELD,
"Captain, R.N.,
"Surveying the Gulf of St. Lawrence."

During the summer of 1849, the party were employed upon the coast of Cape Breton Island and the Gut of Canso with approaches thereto. Deep water soundings with Massey's sounding machine were also taken in the Gulf.

Bayfield, in a letter to the Hydrographer Sir Francis Beaufort, 10th January, 1850, mentions the effect of drift ice on shoals. He says: "I have given many additional soundings on the Caribou sheet which do not always exactly agree with those of other years. This is owing to the ice which occasionally packs and grounds on the Pictou banks; at one time, forcing the gravel and stones up into mounds and ridges, and at other times levelling them again; thus rendering the soundings uncertain to the amount of several feet." I may incidentally add that I noticed the same ice action in the survey of Georgian Bay and North Channel of Lake Huron, 1883 to 1893.

In the spring of 1850 Dr. Kelly is superseded by Dr. Stratton R.N., the former having to relinquish service under Captain Bayfield by reason of ill health, aggravated, if not caused, by the long and exposed service in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The summer of 1850 was spent by the party on the east coast of Cape Breton Island, and the eastern approach to the Gut of Canso.

On the 4th February, 1851, Captain Bayfield says: "Received letter from the Admiralty, directing me to verify the position of Sable Island at a convenient opportunity." In connection with this, he, a week later, "requested of the Admiralty that the war vessel that visits the Gulf each summer may be placed at my disposal for two or three weeks to go to Sable Island."

On the 25th of March, Captain Bayfield and officers attended on the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alexander Bannerman, at the opening of the Prince Edward Island Parliament. Mr. Mavor is still the master of the Gulnare.

Under date of 11th April, Bayfield says: "Revising and recalculating Admiral Owen's chronometrical measure-

ments to and from Boston, a most laborious job owing to the confused manner in which they have been stated, in consequence, I suppose, of the inexperience of his officers in 1843."

21st May, 1851: "Examined most carefully some charges against the master, Mr. Mavor, by which his honesty is made very doubtful to say the least of it. I was obliged to direct his discharge by Mr. Stevenson, in consequence. Mr. Stevenson, by my desire, appointed Mr. McLeod (who has been mate of the Gulnare during the several last years) to be master in Mr. Mavor's place." Captain Alexander McLeod was many years sailing-master and pilot of the surveying vessel after Admiral Bayfield relinquished the survey, and a wonderful pilot he was. He and I were shipmates in the steamer Gulnare from 1871 to 1881, and could I have known that I should have the pleasure of writing this paper, I might have had some interesting talks with Captain McLeod about Admiral Bayfield. I only remember his telling us that the Admiral, though ignoring himself entirely when the service required it, was not averse to the comforts of civilization when within reach, as the Admiral used to give McLeod a kind of standing order that in bringing the vessel up at night, he was, "if possible, to moor with one anchor to the cow and the other to the post office."

On the 24th May, 1851, Bayfield writes: "The Honourable Samuel Cunard, who had made a brief visit to Prince Edward Island to see his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Peters, the wife of the Master of the Rolls, left for Pictou."

Bayfield has been in ill health for some time, and on the 27th and 28th of May he says: "It is not without pain that I shall see the Gulnare sail without me, but when I remember that it is the first time for twenty-four years, all feeling of discontent is removed by the grateful sense of the goodness of a merciful Providence in enabling me to discharge my laborious duties for so many years."

Some trouble again among the crew, for Bayfield says: "The laws regulating merchant seamen seem made on pur-

pose to encourage want of principle, fidelity and common honesty in seamen, who think nothing of breaking their engagement upon the slightest whim, or merely to carry off the usual month's advance without which they will not ship.."

On the 3rd June, 1851, he writes to the Publishers of the British Nautical Almanac, pointing out errors.

Under date of July 11th, Bayfield says: "Received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir George Seymour, informing me that Their Lordships of the Admiralty had directed him to withdraw H.M. Surveying Steamer Columbia from the Bay of Fundy survey to assist me in the survey of Sable Island." The Columbia and Bay of Fundy survey had, since Owen's retirement, been under the command of Captain Peter Shortland, R.N. Bayfield has thirteen chronometers at this time.

On 22nd July, 1851, he arrives in Gulnare at Sable island, and anchors off the residence of Mr. McKenna, the Superintendent. After observing for latitude and longitude at three points on Sable Island, Bayfield, on the 24th, sails from it, leaving Lieutenant Hancock, with three men, to make a detailed survey of the island, and makes written arrangements for their removal, on the completion of the survey.

On the 2nd August he is again at Pictou, and says: "Commander Orlebar proceeded by my desire to survey Haliburton Creek above the Bridge, and thus remove or confirm some suspicions that I entertain as to its accuracy. Being unnavigable and dry at low water, it is not of much consequence, but we should be accurate in every part of our work alike." This creek, done by a local surveyor during the winter, was found to be inaccurate.

A week later he hears that the Columbia, Commander Shortland, was prevented from reaching Sable Island until 1st August. She brought away Lieutenant Hancock and his men. Under date of 12th August is entered: "Our observations at Sable Island confirm the accounts of the people of the island that a good deal of the western part of the

island had been washed away of late years, within the memory and under the observation of the men now residing in the island."

On 22nd September, 1851, Mr. Forbes departs for England on leave of absence. On 27th, Captain Bayfield receives a letter from Mr. W. C. Bond of Cambridge University, Boston, asking Bayfield to assist him in the telegraphic difference of longitude between Cambridge Observatory and Halifax. Bayfield not being able to do so, the latter writes to Captain Shortland R.N., commanding H.M. Surveying Steamer Columbia, in the Bay of Fundy, to assist Mr. Bond at Halifax.

On 16th October, he says: "Employed in various arrangements respecting the Gulnare, which is now so affected by dry rot as to be scarcely seaworthy. But the new vessel is building in Quebec, and is much larger and superior in every respect."

A few days later: "Wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty, declining the retirement" (I think this was in reference to Admiralty Circular of June, 1851, offering optional retirement to the senior ranks in the Navy to relieve the congested state of the List.)

On 23rd January, 1852: "Reading Reports of American Coast Survey with reference to the longitude of Cambridge Observatory, which is being determined chronometrically in the Royal Mail steamers to and from Liverpool."

On the 6th March, 1852, Bayfield says: "Writing to the Vice-Resident of the Toronto and Huron Railroad Company at his request as to the terminus to be adopted on Lake Huron. I recommended Penetanguishene Harbour."

On the 17th April, Mr. Forbes left England from leave to rejoin the survey. The new Gulnare, 212 tons, arrived at Charlottetown from Quebec. Mr. Forbes arrives on 14th May. On the 22nd May, 1852, Bayfield says: "Accompanied Commander Colin Campbell R.N., of H.M.S. Devastation, on a visit to Sir Alexander Bannerman, who

consulted us about the Fishery Laws according to treaty with the United States." Three days later he "wrote to the Honble. James Uniacke, the Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, in reply to his letter respecting a proposed canal at St. Peters, Cape Breton Island."

On the 3rd June, the Gulnare sails from Charlottetown for the Gut of Canso, to commence another season's operations. "We have on board with us the Revd. Mr. S. Rand, who is missionary to the Micmac Indians, and a Baptist minister. My eldest son, Henry, also accompanies me. The new Gulnare, the third of that name, is much larger than the two former. The contractor, Mr. Stevenson, has dealt most liberally with us, giving us better cabins and equipment." The master now appears to be Mr. McIntyre.

On 20th June, while in the Gut of Canso, Bayfield writes: "This morning a boatman, John McLeod, out of his senses and violent from drink, came off at 6 a.m. He was discharged last night with his bedding, being insanely violent from drink, and drawing his knife upon the men. etc. I ordered him to be discharged, finally allowing him to take his clothes."

On the 27th July, Captain Bayfield being unwell, returns from Pictou to Charlottetown in the steamer Rose. having given orders to Commander Orlebar to take the Gulnare round to Halifax and commence the survey of the harbour."

While unwell at Charlottetown, Bayfield says: "The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alexander Bannerman, called on me and consulted me respecting the American fishermen, whom it is now resolved to restrain from fishing within the limits assigned by treaty. My opinion is that this should be done mildly and discreetly, though firmly and in such a way as to give as little offence as possible. It should be a duty entrusted to responsible naval officers only."

On the 10th August, Captain Bayfield rejoins the Gulnare at Halifax, and on 8th October returns to Charlottetown for the winter, leaving Commander Orlebar to bring the Gulnare round from Halifax, Bayfield "not feeling up

to the tumbling about in so small a vessel." On her way round, the Gulnare picks up Lieutenant Hancock, who had been detached near the Gut of Canso for the prosecution of the survey of Cape Breton Island. The vessel arrives at Charlottetown on the 15th October, 1852.

Nothing of importance transpires during the winter of 1852-53.

On the 28th April, 1853, Bayfield says: "The brigantine Peri arrived from Barbadoes; engaged her master, Mr. McLeod as master of the Gulnare." Captain McLeod was absent in 1852.

The Gulnare arrives again at Halifax, in command of Commander Orlebar, on the 29th May, 1853, and Bayfield joins her on the 10th June, having travelled from Charlottetown by public conveyance, via Pictou and Truro. He has evidently not shaken off his illness of the spring of 1852.

On 4th July, he says: "Wrote to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham, Baronet ,asking an entry for my son Henry into the Navy as a Cadet."

July 17th, he writes: "Sunday afternoon—some of our party attended a prayer meeting on shore at Jedore. The preacher, a Baptist minister, a rough diamond, who delivered an excellent sermon in indifferent English."

The Gulnare returns to Charlottetown to winter, and under date 11th November, 1853, Captain Bayfield says: "I heard by telegraph from Quebec of the death of Mr. William Stevenson, the owner of the Gulnare, an old esteemed friend, whom I have known for 25 years."

The party was principally employed in the completion of the survey of Halifax harbour and the coast northward of it, during the summer of 1853.

Unfortunately, we have no further obtainable information as to his work. Bayfield's promotion to Rear Admiral, 21st October, 1856, necessitated his relinquishment of the survey. He remained on the active list (gaining the step of Vice Admiral 27th April, 1863) until 18th October, 1867, when he retired with the rank of full Admiral.

In 1874 the Admiralty bestowed on him a Greenwich Hospital pension of £150 per annum; this in addition to

his ordinary pension. Admiral Bayfield was a Fellow of the British Royal Society, and a member of the Societé Géologique de France.

I might add that while making a survey of the Georgian Bay and North Channel of Lake Huron, from 1883 to 1893, under the orders of the Dominion Government, I had a good opportunity of witnessing the marvellous quantity and excellence of Admiral Bayfield's work. He had neither the time nor the means to find all the outlying rocks and shoals, nor was it necessary ninety years ago in that locality, where his own open boats were probably the largest craft sailing thereon.

The Admiralty Surveying Service has produced good men, from Cook onwards, but I doubt whether the British Navy has ever possessed so gifted and zealous a Surveyor as Bayfield. He had a marvellous combination of natural talent with tremendous physical energy, and was, I feel convinced, a man who would have gained the summit of any profession he might have honoured, for his one thought was his work.

The Admiral wore himself out in the service of his country and the thousands of mariners who have used and still use his charts in the navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; for, although he lived considerably longer than the allotted span, yet during the last few years of his life, he shewed evident signs of the concentrated strain. And in the few conversations I was privileged to have with him in Charlottetown, the irrelevant turn his conversation would occasionally take was always far away to the scenes of his surveying labours, appearing to me, unmistakably indicative of what he had undergone.

The disappointments consequent upon hydrographic work, especially upon a coast like the Canadian Labrador, where, in a fortnight of the short summer, a couple of suitable days only were obtainable, can easily be understood.

This continual struggle with the elements must, in the long run, tell upon an officer with the burning zeal which

Bayfield possessed. Add to this, his short and broken rests consequent upon his watch over the navigation of his schooner in unknown waters; also his many nightly astronomical observations on shore.

Although not customary in those days, to bestow titles or erect statues to such men, Admiral Bayfield has more enduring monuments of natural masonry in the red sandstone of Prince Edward Island, the limestones of Lake Huron, and, where his work was the most trying, in the more durable laurentian rocks of the north shores of Lake Superior and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Admiral Henry Wolsey Bayfield resided in Charlottetown, P.E.I., after his retirement, and died there on the 10th of February, 1885, at the age of ninety years and three weeks, and in concluding this imperfect memoir, I do not think I could do better than quote the Charlottetown Patriot of February 11th, 1885, as follows: "The most distinguished, and probably the most aged of our citizens, has passed away. On Tuesday, the 10th inst., Admiral Bayfield, who has been a resident of this city for 44 years, breathed his last. Long after he retired from active service, he might be seen taking his daily walk on our streets, his distinguished appearance and kindly countenance giving him respectful recognition wherever he went. But for several years he has been an invalid and unable to leave his room.

"The Admiral was a man of high religious principle, kind to the poor and disposed to aid every good work. His noble Christian example did much in past years to exert a beneficial influence on the higher circles of our city life. Some, who have held a like exalted position in the Naval Service, may have had more brilliant careers, but few, indeed, have rendered more practical benefit to the commerce of the nation and to the Navy itself, than did Admiral Bayfield by his careful coast surveys and excellent charts.

"And while faithful to his country and Queen, he neglected not to remember the higher allegiance he owed to the 'King of Kings.'"

THE STEAMSHIP "UNICORN," ON THE ST. LAWRENCE BRANCH OF THE CUNARD COMPANY IN 1840, AND SOME MEMORANDA ON EARLY TRANS-ATLANTIC STEAMSHIP SERVICE BY CAPTAIN WALTER DOUGLAS, HER COMMANDER.

(*Paper Communicated by James Douglas, LL.D., Honorary President of the Society.*)

Every great economical advantage, however beneficial to the people at large, is fraught with some inconvenience, if not injury, to certain sections. This was very notable when steam transportation by land and sea transferred from Great Britain in great measure to the United States the lumber trade from the St. Lawrence, and from Quebec as the port of shipment · The lumber of the Ottawa formerly came down as square timber in great rafts and as such was shipped in a fleet of sailing vessels, that was so numerous that Indian Cove on the south shore exhibited a forest of masts. On the north shore there were not berths enough to accommodate the lumber ships, strung along in a continuous line from Cape Diamond to Cap Rouge, though the wharves were supplemented by detached piers built out in the stream. Champlain street was then densely populated for nearly the whole of those twelve miles. To-day, as a street, it can hardly be said to exist; the cribbing of those detached wharves has decayed; the rock filling has fallen in gentle slopes into the river; trees and verdure have found nourishment among the stones, and thus convert into picturesque islands what were formerly the scenes of busy commercial activity. Future generations of geologists will be puzzled to account for these isolated islands.

The first east wind, after the ice was out of the river, brought up a fleet of sailing ships which, as they rounded Cape Joseph, with full sail set, presented a more beautiful sight than will ever be realized again. Quebec, in its offices and along its shores, was busy night and day, until the spring fleet gradually vanished, to reappear as the fall fleet, which came in, not in bulk, but in detail. These hundreds of ships of small tonnage, making two voyages a year, carried less freight than a single line of steam monsters, each poking its nose into the harbour once a month. But these monsters are loaded and discharged by machinery, while the freight of yore was handled by man power. Therefore, until the city adjusted itself to the altered conditions and learned to foster other branches of trade and commerce, and to provide for their accommodation, the change from the older, clumsy system to the newer, through the drain on population alone, hurt Quebec, not vitally, but painfully, for a time. Canada benefitted—Quebec suffered.

Few probably recollect when the little "Genoa," one fine May morning in 1853, steamed into the harbour, to be followed by the "Birkenhead" of tragic fate, and with other chartered ships, which were the forerunners of the Montreal Steamship Company and the Allan Line. The advent of these steamers meant as much to Canada as the building of the Canadian Pacific did later. They revolutionized the trade of the country. But being propelled by steam they could pass the old city by and push on to the headwaters of navigation.

Long previous to that date, however, an ocean steamer had plied regularly between Quebec and Pictou, as a member in a transcontinental system. It was very small. In fact the progress in steamship construction as well as in steam navigation may almost be guaged by the difference between these old liners of 250 feet in length, and the modern leviathan measuring a sixth of a mile.

My first trip across the Atlantic was made in 1852 on the Cunard S.S. "Europa"—my last on the "Lusitania." The difference in the size and power of the two ships, the "Europa" being 251 feet in length and her engines of 2000

indicated horsepower, while the "Lusitania" is 790 feet in length, and her engines of 70,000 indicated horsepower, expresses less significantly the progress made during the interval in the arts and sciences than the introduction into the modern steamer of appliances that tend for comfort and have made the best specimens of the modern trans-atlantic liners sumptuous palaces. In days of yore the cabins were all small and dark, with ill-smelling wash basins and no appliances for forced ventilation. The bath, which is so conspicuously advertised and used on the modern ship, was absent, while throughout the ship, which was then built of wood, there was a disagreeably suspicious odor of bilge water. In a small prismatic cupboard with ground glass panes, built into the partition between two adjacent cabins, a single candle hung, which was reached only from the passage, and was extinguished punctually at a certain hour.

The changed habits of society are also exhibited by the behavior of the passengers then and now. Everyone dressed punctiliously for dinner, which was a formal meal served in courses; and above the dining tables were suspended racks for wine decanters and glasses, for wine was used more generously at meals than it is to-day. On the last day of the passage champagne was provided at the expense of the Company. Smokers were confined strictly to their own precincts, and not allowed to add the foul odor of the weed to the other offensive smells. The contract with the British Government for the carriage of the mails was so liberal as to cover the main operating expenses. The mails were not sorted on board, but the mail agent was a Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, who sat at the head of the second table. And a cow—supposed to give enough milk for all the passengers—was supplied with a conspicuous stall on deck.

When half-way across the Atlantic, we were startled by the stoppage of the engines, that they might be thoroughly overhauled, while at rest. All the old ships were square rigged and manned by a full crew of sailors. The engines being auxiliary to the sails, it was not till the speed of the vessels exceeded the average speed of the wind that the

sails, having become useless, were abandoned. Moreover, when higher speed was secured and economy of fuel obtained through improvements in the designing of steam engines, it became cheaper, even on tramp steamers, to use coal than to pay sailors.

The modern ship is a floating hotel, with a basement of unfathomable depth, in which the machinery is hidden. Five or six stories are built for the accommodation of the first and second-class passengers, to each of whom is assigned, in sleeping and general accommodation, at least one hundred times more space than in the old liner, and quite as much drawing room, dining room, library and smoking room accommodation as is afforded in the best hotels. On some lines you have the choice of using the common dining room or ordering your meals at a restaurant. Unlimited electric light by day or night; elevators to carry you from story to story; and a band of music at meals to help or hinder digestion. The motive power has increased in greater proportion than even the size of the vessel. The "Great Eastern" was almost as long as the "Lusitania" and "Mauritania," being 680 feet between perpendiculars, as against 790 for the big Cunarders. But this huge ship was proplled by eight engines, operating four paddle wheels and four propellers, the total horsepower being only 11,000. She took eleven days to cross the Atlantic. Her passenger accommodation was for 800 saloon, 2,000 second class, 1,200 steerage and 400 officers and crew. Her keel was laid down in 1854, but it was the end of 1859 before she started on her first unfortunate voyage. Her career was one of disaster from the day she stuck on her ways till she was sold at auction in 1888. She had cost £730,000. She brought when knocked down under the hammer only £58,000, or less than the money expended in launching her.

The "Lusitania" and "Mauritania" are propelled by turbine engines of 70,000 horsepower, which,however, force these huge ships through the water at little more than double the speed of the "Great Eastern." If, therefore, improvements in both boilers and engines in the direction of econ-

omy of fuel had not during the interval been made, the cost of increased speed would be prohibitory.

But the motive of this paper is to give some particulars with regard to a still earlier stage of trans-atlantic travel, gathered from the correspondence and note books of my father-in-law, Captain Walter Douglas. He was a well-known character on the St. Lawrence from 1825 till 1845. He belonged to an old-seafaring family, several members of which commanded sailing ships on the St. Lawrence. Captain Douglas acquired his intimate knowledge of the Lower St. Lawrence as sailing master to Captain Bayfield on His Majesty's Surveying Ship "Gulnare." He also commanded a river steamer between Quebec and Montreal.

On account of his acquaintance with the Gulf and River he was selected by Mr. Samuel Cunard to command the "Unicorn," which preceded the "Britannia," the first regular trans-atlantic liner of the Cunard fleet. The "Unicorn" was assigned to the service of a branch line between Quebec and Pictou, from which port the transportation of mails and passengers was made by land to Halifax, there to be transferred to the regular Cunard steamships, which sailed fortnightly between England and Boston. Boston was the United States terminus, and the boats all called at Halifax. It was not till the Cunarders established a direct line from New York to Liverpool that their Boston line ceased to call at the Canadian port. Also when railroad and steamboat communication was established between Montreal and the United States seaboard, the necessity expired for transporting the English mail from Pictou to Halifax. Then the "Unicorn" ceased to ply between Quebec and Pictou.

Though this branch line of the British and North American Royal Mail Steamship Company, appears never to have been profitable, from 1840 till 1844 the "Unicorn" was one of the best known and most important crafts on the River. I distinctly recollect when a child being impressed by her dining saloon, decorated, as all the trans-atlantic ships of that line were, by painted panels between the windows.

The "Unicorn," therefore, instead of the "Britannia," may claim the honor of being the first Cunarder to cross the Atlantic, and as such she was recognized by the people of Boston, though, in fact, she did not belong to the transatlantic fleet. Among Captain Douglas' papers I find a copy of the log of the "Unicorn" on this memorable voyage.

"She hauled out of the Clarence Dock into the stream on May 15th, with 453 tons of coal." The passengers came aboard on the 16th, and at noon she rounded the Rock Light House. On the 17th they consumed 18 tons of coal, the engines making 9 strokes per minute. But more details of her sailing than of her steaming are given. On May 18th at 8 o'clock A.M., they were off Kelwith Head. They consumed 17 tons of coal that day. Generally the consumption was about 18 tons and the number of revolutions 10½. She arrived at Halifax on the 1st of June, and at Boston on the 3rd.

I find no list of the crew, but there is a memorandum of the composition of the ship's company of the Steamship "Hibernia." It shows a very different distribution of force to that employed in the modern boat without sails.—

Captain	1
Officers	4
Carpenters	2
Boatswains	2
Seamen	16
Engineers	6
Firemen	12
Coal Trimmers	10
Steward for Engineers	1
Boys	5
Stewards and Cooks	27
Captain's Boy	1
Doctor	1
Purser	1
Total	89

The Mayor of Boston wrote the following letter to Captain Douglas and enclosed a card of invitation:—

CITY HALL, MAYOR'S OFFICE,
June 4, 1840.

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to enclose you a card for our meeting to-morrow in honor of the arrival of the Unicorn. And it will give me much pleasure to welcome you at City Hall to-morrow at 3 o'clock.

If there are any other gentlemen whom you desire to have invited, I shall be much obliged if you will communicate the names.

Your obedient servant,
JONA. CHAPMAN,
Mayor.

Captain Douglas, Esq.

CARD.

CITY OF BOSTON.

City Council Requests the Honor of the Company of

CAPT. DOUGLAS . .

at Faneuil Hall

On Friday next, at half past 3 o'clock, P.M.

to celebrate

THE OPENING OF STEAM NAVIGATION

Between the Kingdom of Great Britain and this City.

Guests will assemble at City Hall, at 3 o'clock P.M. Tickets to be shown at the door of Faneuil Hall.

June 4, 1840.

The passengers presented Captain Douglas with a silver basket inscribed: "To Captain Walter Douglas from the passengers on board the Royal Mail Steamer Packet 'Unicorn,'* on the voyage from Liverpool to Halifax and Boston, in May, 1840, in testimony of their sense of his invariable kindness and attention to their comfort and of his zealous and able conduct in command."

* The name of the Company was then "The British and North America Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.

The "Boston Daily Advertiser," of June 2, 1840, announced her approach:—

"The expected arrival of the 'Unicorn,' the pioneer of the line of British Steam Packets, about to be established by the Hon. S. Cunard, under the auspices of the British Government, between Liverpool and Boston, having led to enquiries concerning the preparations for their reception at East Boston, I took occasion on Saturday to cross the ferry for a glance at the premises.

The Cunard wharf, erected by the East Boston Company, under the superintendence of Mr. S. S. Lewis, has just been completed, and it is a work in all respects worthy of the occasion, and the liberality of the Company. The wharf is composed of a spacious bridge or pier, from a point on Marginal street, just below the ferry, and extending 750 feet towards the channel, by 30 feet wide.

"The pier is terminated by a cross wharf or T of 300 feet by 50 feet wide. Thence are extended quite into the channel two wharves of similar dimensions and resembling the prongs of a fork, each being 250 feet long by 50 feet wide, and embracing an intermediate slip of 90 feet wide for the reception of the steamers, with fixtures and conveniences of fastening a vessel of the largest class on each side, where the two can repose at a time in perfect safety in all kinds of weather. On the upper side of the western prong a berth is provided for another steamer in case three of them should chance to be in port at once. On each side of these slips the water is 15 feet at low water.

"The 'Unicorn' will be the pioneer steamer in connection with this line between Liverpool and Boston. She is a fine vessel of about 700 tons, but is not designed as a regular packet between the two countries. It is ultimately intended to have her ply between Nova Scotia and Quebec. Meanwhile the 'Britannia,' the 'Columbia,' the 'Caledonia' and another, whose name I have not yet learned, are to be the regular steam packets between Liverpool and Boston, touching at Halifax. They are first-rate vessels of 1,200 tons each, and calculated for Atlantic navigation. Mr. Cunard has undertaken to carry a regular mail, twice a month, be-

tween Liverpool and Boston the year round. Of course a steamer will arrive and depart every fortnight. As a trip from England to Boston is shorter by about 36 hours than from New York, and as the delay at Halifax will be short, we may hope to anticipate the New York foreign news by some 24 hours at least."

The same paper on the 4th and 5th gives an account of the public welcome given to the Captain, officers and to Mr. Cunard, the son of Mr. Samuel Cunard, subsequently Sir Samuel.

"Yesterday afternoon arrived at this port the Steam Packet 'Unicorn,' Captain Douglas, from Liverpool, May 16th. She arrived at Halifax at 11 o'clock June 1st, and left for Boston the following night, making the passage 18 days, and brings London papers to the evening of May 18th, being 15 days later than those brought by the 'British Queen.' She brought 27 passengers, 24 of whom continued on to Boston. She had head winds nearly the whole passage. Among her passengers was a son of Mr. Samuel Cunard.

"The 'Unicorn' was first seen from Mr. Parker's observatory on Central Wharf, just before 5 o'clock P.M., then near the light house; she was saluted from India Wharf and East Boston, as well as from the United States revenue cutter, which was dressed in flags, while the English and American flags were hoisted on the Observatory and Maverick House, at East Boston. Captain Sturgis, of the United States revenue cutter, went on board the 'Unicorn' to see her safely moored at the wharf, before which she passed by the end of Long Wharf, taking a turn round the North End Wharves and the Navy Yard, and thence by Copp's Hill to East Boston, where she was made fast at the Cunard Wharf; the vibration of the several salutes fired from the wharves and shipping unfortunately broke several lights of painted glass in her cabin.

"On Saturday a jubilee celebration was given the officers, Captain and young Cunard at Boston's celebrated 'Cradle of Liberty,' Faneuil Hall, at which the Mayor and dignitaries of the city took part, as a greeting to the pioneers of this

great enterprise; after discussing the edibles and washing them down, His Honour the Mayor proposed the toast: 'God Save the Queen and the United States of America.' This, of course, was heartily drunk, and three cheers given with a will. Captain Douglas was then introduced to the audience. The Captain made a few complimentary remarks and said his ship was the smallest of the ships of the intended line, the bulkiness of her machinery occupying much space, but the ships to follow would be first-class; that head winds which prevailed during the whole passage, impeded her speed, and her successors would turn out faster sailers. Toasts, song, puns and punch filled up a very pleasant hour, and the Cunard trial trip was duly inaugurated."

The "Unicorn" was the first ship of the Cunard Company to cross the ocean, though the "Britannia" was the first ship of the regular line (fleet) of four steamers to make regular trips between Liverpool and Boston.

Quebec was keenly excited over the prospect of close connection with Great Britain. "The Quebec Gazette," of the 10th, and the "Mercury" of the 11th June, 1840, have the following notices of the arrival of the "Unicorn" in American waters:—

From "Quebec Gazette," 10th June, 1840:—(From a Montreal Correspondent):—"A Mr. Cormac, who was a passenger on Mr. Cunard's steamer 'Unicorn,' Captain Douglas, to Halifax, arrived this morning, via Boston and New York. The steamer arrived at Halifax on 31st May, having sailed the 16th. She brought London morning papers of the 15th, and from Liverpool of the 16th."

Extract of a letter from Captain Walter Douglas, of the Steamer "Unicorn," dated Boston, 3rd June, to a gentleman in Quebec:—

"I dare say you have heard by way of Halifax before this time of our arrival, after a passage of 16 days, although a very boisterous one, nothing but gales of wind from west to northwest. The 'Unicorn' is a most splendid seaboat: it blew one night a perfect hurricane, so that we could not carry our close reefed foresail. We eased the engine to

about half-speed, keeping the sea about a point or two points on the bow; she then went ahead about two knots as easy and as dry as possible.

"We had a very agreeable party on board. The Nova Scotians gave us a very handsome reception, the wharves were crowded, guns firing, with flags flying and cheering, and I suppose that during the day we remained in Halifax there must have been at least 3,000 persons on board.

"It is not decided when we leave for Quebec. (We understand that another letter from Captain Douglas states that he expects to be in Quebec on 13th inst. (Saturday next.)"

From "Quebec Mercury," June 11th, 1840:—"The Halifax mail, which arrived this afternoon, brought the letters and papers by the packet 'Unicorn.' We have a file of London papers from the 7th to 15th May, inclusive; on the hasty glance we have been enabled to bestow upon them we find little to add to the extracts already made from the New York papers and from our Montreal contemporaries.

"Halifax papers are of the 2nd and 3rd inst. Of course the arrival of the first of the steam mail packets caused a great sensation. The performance of the voyage, 16 days, is considered as good work for a boat not built for crossing the Atlantic, and, at the commencement of her voyage, brought out of trim by the extra quantity of fuel she was obliged to carry. Captain Walter Douglas appears highly pleased with the performance of his craft, and his passengers highly pleased with their Commander, having testified the sense they entertained of his gentlemanly attention towards them, and of his zeal and ability in the performance of his duty by presenting him with a piece of plate, accompanied by a handsome address, which, together with the Captain's answer, will have a place in our next number."

The "Unicorn," however, made several trips between Halifax and Boston, while waiting for the sailing and the arrival of the "Britannia." On the 15th of June the Halifax correspondent of the "Quebec Gazette" wrote:—

"The Steamer 'Unicorn' has returned from Boston in 38½ hours. She left Boston Wednesday evening and arrived here yesterday about noon. It is said the 'Unicorn' will proceed to Boston again on Monday next, provided as many as 40 persons engage to take passage."

The "Quebec Gazette" of 22nd June, 1840, says:—"It will be seen that the 'Unicorn' steamer arrived at Halifax from Boston in 38½ hours. It is said she would return to Boston, but other accounts say that she will come to Quebec. The first of the regular line of mail steamers to Halifax was expected there from the 10th to the 15th July."

The same paper on June 29th announced her arrival: "The 'Unicorn,' steam packet, Captain Douglas, arrived here (Quebec) this day a little before noon in 84 hours from Halifax. Captain Douglas has favoured us with Halifax papers of Thursday last, from which we have taken the ship news. The news by the Great Western reached Halifax on Wednesday last, 23rd inst."

The "Unicorn" was presumably the first trans-atlantic steamer which entered the Port of Quebec. But she was not the first which steamed out. That honor, as well as the credit of being the first steamer which crossed the Atlantic under steam from shore to shore belongs to the "Royal William," a Quebec built ship. She seems, however, never to have returned to her home.

The Gazette mentions the report of the Governor-General proceeding to Halifax in the Unicorn, and says:—

"We trust their expectations will be realized. Great numbers of the citizens and the garrison of Quebec crowded the ramparts and the citadel and the wharves, when the 'Unicorn' was coming in. All seemed anxious to get a sight of this precursor of the line of steamers which is to introduce so important a change in the communications of the North American Provinces with Europe, and between each other, and every one was delighted again to meet a friend and old acquaintance in Captain Douglas. Just after the 'Unicorn' came to the wharf a royal salute was fired from the Citadel,

in honor of Her Majesty's coronation, suiting well two joyous occasions."

The "Quebec Mercury" of 30th June, 1840, contains the following:—

"ARRIVAL OF THE UNICORN.—Shortly after ten o'clock yesterday morning the repeating telegraph on Cape Diamond showed the signal for a steam vessel coming up the river, and the town was soon in a hustle with people proceeding to the wharves and other places where they would be likely to catch a glimpse of the vessel, which was correctly pronounced to be the 'Unicorn,' Captain Walter Douglas, from Halifax.

"In about an hour from the time she was first telegraphed, this pioneer of direct steam communication between Great Britain and her North American colonies made her appearance round the point, gallantly steaming against a strong ebb-tide. On coming abreast of the Steamer 'St. George,' lying at Gibb's Wharf, a salute was fired from the 'Unicorn,' followed by three cheers from the people on board, which were heartily responded to from the shore.

"In a few minutes the 'Unicorn' was moored alongside the Queen's Wharf, to which all the numerous spectators who had witnessed her arrival from other wharves in the Lower Ttown reapaired, and numbers went on board to greet their old friend, Captain Douglas. From Captain Douglas we learn that the 'Unicorn' made the passage from Halifax to this port in the short period of 84 hours. The 'Unicorn' was again to have left Halifax on the 25th inst. for Boston, but on the 23rd instructions were unexpectedly received to proceed to Quebec, where we understand she awaits the orders of His Excellency the Governor-General.

"The 'Unicorn' being ordered off from Halifax on so short a notice, brought only 11 passengers, namely, Charles Felix Aylwin, Esq., and lady; Mr. Ford, R.E., Mr. Nixon, R.A., Mr. Brown, Miss Murison, Miss Tremaine, Mrs. Macdonald, and three children.

"The numerous visitors on board the 'Unicorn' have been much pleased with the admirable order prevailing throughout the vessel, and the splendid manner in which the cabins are furnished.

"The 'Unicorn' came up without a pilot, which, indeed the thorough knowledge Captain Douglas has acquired of the navigation of the river whilst master of the Surveyor Schooner 'Gulnare' enables him, under any circumstances, to do with perfect confidence. The total number of her crew is 40 men."

Between the date of her arrival at and sailing from Quebec, she evidently went to exhibit herself at Montreal, for the first memoranda in one of Capt. Dougles' pocket-books is dated July, 1840, and gives the itinerary of the steamship from Montreal to Quebec. She made the trip between 8.40 in the morning and 7.42 p.m.

The "Unicorn" was advertised in the "Mercury" of July 11th to leave Quebec with mail and passengers to connect with the "Britannia" on her first homeward voyage.

"Advertisement of B. & N. A. Royal Mail Steamships of 1,200 tons and 400 horsepower: 'Britannia,' Captain Robert Ewing; 'Acadia,' Captain Robert Miller; 'Caledonia,' Captain Richard Cleland; 'Columbia,' Captain Henry Woodruff. For Liverpool, G.B.

"The 'Britannia,' the first ship of this line, commanded by Captain Robert Ewing, will leave Boston 30th July and Halifax, 1st August, for Liverpool, G.B.

"The ships will carry experienced surgeons, and their accommodations are not surpased by any of the Atlantic steamships.

"The 'Unicorn,' Captain Walter Douglas, will leave Quebec with the mails for England to meet the 'Britannia' at Halifax.

"Passengers will please to make application at the office of G. B. Symes, St. Peter Street.

"N.B.—All letters intended to be sent by these vessels must pass through the Post Office. None will be received at the Agent's Office.

The "Britannia" was to leave Liverpool for Halifax and Boston on 2nd July, the mail being made up in London on 1st July.

The "Unicorn" wintered at Halifax in 1840-1841. On May 8, 1841, the "Mercury" announced her arrival at Quebec.

The advertisement in the "Mercury" of March 9th, 1841, of the summer sailings is as follows:—

"British and North American Royal Mil Steamships.—Under contract with the Lords of the Admiralty. 'Acadia,' 'Britannia,' 'Caledonia,' 'Columbia,' will said from Boston and Liverpool, calling at Halifax, as follows: (Then comes the time tables and rates of passage money. The fare was £25 Sterling, Halifax to Liverpool, and $12 between Boston and Halifax). "The ships carry experienced surgeons."

" The 'Unicorn' plies between Pictou and Quebec in connection with Halifax.

"S. Cunard & Co., Halifax; G. B. Symes, Quebec; S. S. Lavis, Boston."

The following letter from Mr. E. Cunard to Captain Douglas is of interest, as indicating the terms on which the mails were carried between Halifax and Pictou:—

"HALIFAX, August 4, 1841.

"*My Dear Sir:*—By the 'Acadia,' in 10 days 20 hours, I received a letter from Mr. Cunard on the subject of the mail and coaches between Halifax and Pictou. I intended to advertize for tenders in the United States, but Henry Boggs, who has just returned, says that there is some person who is engaged in conveying the mails between Quebec and Montreal, who was talking of coming down with you to look at the road, and offer to take the contract. I would therefore thank you to see him and talk to him on the subject. The contract will be for eight years from 1st January, 1841, or for 7 years from next January. It is to continue certain until the 31st December, 1843, and then to be continued until the expiration of the 8 years, unless Government give a full twelve months' notice and pay a fine of £750.

This is intended as a guard to them if the contract is not performed to their satisfaction; but if it is, it will remain for the full period, as they do not wish to pay the fine. The work to be performed is to convey the county mails three times each week during the summer months between Halifax and Pictou, and the English mails every fortnight, and also to take the pasengers in proper coaches; they, however, will pay for themselves, and as the travelling on the road is increasing rapidly, I am convinced that there is an excellent opening for any person who understands the business. If they do not, I would not wish to see them on the road. If the person in Quebec will come down and you recommend him as suited for the work, and able to carry it through, we will give him £1,500 per annum, and he will also be entitled to receive a bonus from the House of Assembly of £500. I must have an immediate reply, as I must otherwise send to Boston. The party must have means to stock the road and have a sufficient number of good, well-built coaches. Let me hear from you.

"I remain,

"Yours truly,

(Sd.) "E. CUNARD."

"Captain Douglas, Care 'Unicorn,' Quebec."

The "Unicorn" was taken off the St. Lawrence route on the close of navigation in 1844. I find from a file of the "New York Evening Post" that she sailed from Halifax in June, 1845, and was entered as arriving in New York, June 23rd. Her Captain was transferred to Glasgow as Marine Superintendent of the Company. The ship continued to be owned by either the Cunard Company or by shareholders of the Company, for I find a letter of Captain Douglas from Glasgow to Mr. Cunard on September 2, 1847, to the effect that "Messrs. Caird & Co. are making new boilers for the 'Unicorn.' "

It is said that after the ship came to New York she was chartered out and made a few trips to the West Indies, but having so little cargo space, she was subsequently sold to

the Portuguese Government; was converted into a corvette of 8 guns and became the first steam warship of Portugal. If these traditions are correct, she had a more eventful career than most old ships.

Boston remained the American terminus of the line till 1850. On September 4th of that year the Niagara sailed from Liverpool to open the regular direct service between that port and New York.

The history of ships, famous in their day, when grown old and decayed and turned to ignoble uses, affords material for almost as pathetic a story as the fate of old homes and old people. They pass us in mid-ocean, unobserved, unsaluted and not decked with flags. They are not intentionally ignored or slighted, but overlooked, because no longer distinguished by outer trappings. They had served their day and generation, and had outlived their usefulness and original purpose; and they consequently share the fate of all old things—animate and inanimate.

Among Captain Douglas' memoranda I find the following list of the steamers which sailed between New York and Liverpool from April, 1838, to October, 1839, with dates of departure and arrival. Our Quebec built steamer, the "Royal William," is one of the four. It is interesting to note that at that date the "Sirius" called at Cork on its way to Falmouth. The "Great Western," the most rapid of the boats, made Bristol its port of destination; the "British Queen" selected Portsmouth, and the two slower steamers, the "Liverpool" and "Royal William," (our Quebec built ship) sailed in and out of Liverpool. The distribution of traffic was then determined by the faulty means of land transportation, whereas its more recent concentration at certain favoured points has resulted from facilities which the railroads now offer :—

STEAMERS TO NEW YORK—1838—1839.

Name	From	Sailed	Arrived	Time
Sirius,	Cork,	4th April,	23rd April,	18½ days.
Great Western,	Bristol,	8th "	23rd "	15 "
Sirius,	Cork,	31st May,	18th June,	18 "

Great Western,	Bristol,	2nd June,	17th "	14½ "	
Royal William,	Liverpool,	5th July,	24th July,	18 "	
Great Western,	Bristol,	21st "	5th Aug.,	14½ "	
Great Western,	"	8th Sept.,	24th Sept.,	16 "	
Royal William,	Liverpool,	20th "	10th Oct.,	20 "	
Liverpool,	"	20th Oct.,	put into Cork	short of Fuel.	
Great Western,	Bristol,	27th "	15th Nov.,	18½ days.	
Liverpool,	Cork,	6th Nov.	23rd "	17 "	
Royal William,	Liverpool,	15th Dec.,	7th Jan., 1839	22½ "	
Great Western,	Bristol,	28th Jan., 1839	17th Feb.,	19 "	
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	6th Feb.,	25th "	18½ "	
Great Western,	Bristol,	23rd Mar.,	15th April,	22 "	
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	20th Apr.,	7th May,	16½ "	
Great Western,	Bristol,	18th May,	31st "	13 "	3 hrs.
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	13th June,	30th June,	17 "	
Great Western,	Bristol,	6th July,	22nd July,	16½ "	
British Queen,	Portsmouth,	12th "	28th "	15½ "	
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	1st Aug.	18th Aug.,	16½ "	
Great Western,	Bristol,	24th "	10th Sept.,	17 "	
British Queen,	Portsmouth,	3rd Sept.,	20th "	17 "	
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	21st "	10th Oct.,	19 "	
Great Western,	Bristol,	19th Oct.,	3rd Nov.,	14 "	6 hrs.

STEAMERS FROM NEW YORK 1838--1839.

Name	For	Sailed	Arrived	Time	
Sirius,	Falmouth,	1st May, 1838	19th May,	18 days	
Great Western,	Bristol,	7th "	22nd "	15 "	
Great Western,	"	25th June,	2nd July,	12 "	17 hrs.
Sirius,	Falmouth,	30th "	19th "	19 "	
Royal William,	Liverpool,	4th Aug.,	19th Aug.,	14 "	19 "
Great Western,	Bristol,	16th "	30th "	13 "	
Great Western,	"	4th Oct.,	17th Oct.,	12 "	10 "
Royal William,	Liverpool,	20th "	5th Nov.,	15 "	19 "
Great Western,	Bristol,	23rd Nov.,	7th Dec.,	14 "	6 "
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	6th Dec.,	22nd "	14 "	10 "
Royal Wiliiam,	"	16th Jan. 1839	3rd Feb., 1839	17 "	12 "
Great Western,	Bristol,	25th Feb.,	12th Mar.,	14 "	12 "
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	9th Mar.,	25th "	16 "	
Great Western,	Bristol,	22nd Apr.,	7th May,	15 "	
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	18th May,	2nd June,	14 "	10 "
Great Western,	Bristol,	13th June,	26th "	13 "	5 "
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	6th July,	20th July,	13 "	17 "
Great Western,	Bristol,	1st Aug.,	14th Aug.,	12 "	12 "
British Queen,	Portsmouth,	1st "	15th "	13 "	12 "
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	24th "	8th Sept.,	14 "	6 "
Great Western,	Bristol,	21st Sept.,	4th Oct.,	13 "	
British Queen,	Portsmouth,	1st Oct.,	15th "	13 "	20 "
Liverpool,	Liverpool,	19th "	6th Nov.,	17 "	12 "
Great Western,	Bristol,	16th Nov.,	30th Nov.,	13 "	18 "
British Queen,	Portsmouth,	2nd Dec.,	25th Dec.,	Off Dover.	

In those days the Captain was also the caterer for the boat. The result might prove a valuable perquisite, if he was an economical manager, or involve a heavy deficit if the reverse. Therefore, among Captain Douglas' papers I

find copies of various bills of fare of the "Great Western," of which the following very substantial dishes composed the menus for breakfast and dinner on March 23rd, 1840:—

BREAKFAST BILL.—4 dishes Beefsteak, 4 dishes Pork Chops, 2 dishes Veal Cutlets, 4 dishes Stews and Potatoes, 6 dishes Ham and Eggs, 1 dish Omelette.

DINNER BILL.—2 dishes Baked Fish, 2 Roast Beef, 2 Roast Pork, 2 Roast Turkeys, 2 Roast Geese, 2 Pair Roast Ducks, 2 dishes Roast Mutton, 2 Pair Boiled Fowls, 2 Dishes Boiled Mutton, 2 Tongues, 1 Ham, 2 dishes Corned Beef, 4 dishes Pork and Beans. Pastry.—6 Raspberry Rolly Polly, 4 Maccaroni Puddings, 4 Apple Tarts, 4 Prune Tarts, 4 Mince Tarts.

There is also a copy of Regulations issued by the "Great Western" Directors for the guidance of passengers and the instruction of stewards.

REGULATIONS.

"The Directors have been most anxious to avail themselves of the experience afforded by the passages which have been effected, in all seasons and under all circumstances of weather, by the "Great Western," in order to adopt the system of arrangement which may most conduce to the comfort of the passengers, and they beg to annex a copy of Regulations, which with that view have been issued to the Stewards. They earnestly entreat the assistance of the passengers in carrying them into effect.

"In all cases of dissatisfaction with the servants, it is requested that the Head Steward may be informed, and if the grievance be not immediately reduced, that the Captain be appealed to, and if of a serious nature, that it be represented in writing in order that it may be brought before the Directors at the conclusion of the voyage.

"1st. When desirable, the skylight and stern windows are to remain open all night, or if the weather do not allow this during the night, from 5 in the morning in summer, and from 7 in the winter, weather permitting.

"2nd. The saloon and ladies' boudoir to be swept every morning after breakfast.

"3rd. The Stewards and boys are to attend at meals in becoming apparel.

"4th. The staterooms to be swept and carpets taken out and shaken every morning after breakfast.

"5th. Bedding to be turned, as soon as passengers quit their cabins; slops to be emptied and basins cleaned at the same time. Beds to be made once only each day, except in cases of illness, etc., and in one hour after the breakfasts are removed.

"6th. Bed linen to be changed on the eighth day. Boots and shoes to be cleaned and put back into the staterooms every morning at eight.

"7th. Two towels to be hung up for each passenger and to be changed every other day.

"8th. Breakfast to be on table at 9 and removed by 11.

"9th. The dinner gong to strike at half past 3. Dinner to be on the table at 4; the cloths to be removed the instant it is over.

"10th. Tea to be on the table at half-past seven.

"11th. Supper, if required and ordered, before 10 o'clock.

"12th. Servants and young children's breakfasts at half-past 8, dinner at 1, and tea at 6, in the fore cabin.

"13th. Lights to be put out in the grand saloon at 11 and in the fore saloon and staterooms at 12.

"14th. The Head Steward is regularly to see that the scuttles are open, when the weather will permit, and passengers are earnestly entreated to let the responsibility of opening them rest with the Steward, as it will be impossible to change the bedding should it become wet in consequence of their being opened.

"15th. The Stewardess only to enter the ladies' staterooms and boudoirs, to make their beds, at the time before stated.

"16th. Chairs not to be taken out of the saloon or staterooms, camp stools being provided for the use of the deck.

"17th. Divine service will be performed on Sunday, when it is hoped that the arrangements of the passengers

will admit of the servants' attendance in a cleanly and becoming manner.

"Male servants are not allowed on the poop, or quarter-deck under it, except when in attendance on their masters or mistresses.

"As the labor of the servants must be very great, the Directors entreat the passengers to spare them as much as possible between the meal hours, and particularly while preparing for dinner.

"To ensure as much as possible, respect, civility and attention from the Steward's establishment, one-half of the fees is set apart for distribution by the passengers, the remaining half being retained for breakages and other dilapidations connected with the accommodation. Out of the former it has been agreed that the Head Steward is to receive $10 each voyage, as his proportion, in addition to his salary, and it is to be hoped a committee of passengers will take the trouble to apportion balance, for which purpose a list of the other stewards, cooks, etc., will be furnished by the Clerk two days before the ship may be expected to arrive.

"In consequence of a representation that some rule with respect to places at table in the saloon would be productive of much general convenience, the passengers are respectfully informed that the occupiers of staterooms in the saloon are entitled to seats opposite their several stateroom doors, and the places taken by the whole of the passengers, at the first dinner, are to be considered their's during the voyage. This rule is not, of course, to bar parties from changing seats with one another.

"The Directors entreat that they may be favored with suggestions from the passengers on any point which may yet appear deficient in the management."

The rate of passage in all parts of the ship, including wines, was $140, between Bristol and New York. Steward, $6.00. The rate of postage is stated at 25 cents for a single sheet and on heavy letters, $1.00 per ounce.

Evidently the "Great Western" was the only rival the early Cunarder feared, and Bristol as a rival port of Liver-

pool, judging from an interesting and very enthusiastic letter from Mr. David McIver to Captain Douglas on 5th July, 1842.

Captain Douglas' correspondence also contains copies of letters to Hon. S. Cunard, which give some interesting data as to cost of engines in those early days. On August 2, 1847, he was contracting for three small steamers, and there is a difference of opinion as to whether the engines should be of 60 horsepower or 80 horsepower; and as to whether they should be propelled by paddle or screws. He says:—

"Elder ———— recommends me to Messrs. Caird & Co., as he considers them to have more experience in propeller engines than any other establishment north of the Tweed; he has volunteered his services to assist in deciding on the application of the power, and now thinks the direct action, if not worked over eighty revolutions, to be the best. He goes with me to Leith next week to look at a vessel that has been very successfully running between that port and Hamburgh."

On September 2, 1847, he writes Mr. Cunard that he has "contracted with Messrs. Caird & Co. for the first pair of engines, 50-inch cylinders, with two-foot stroke, direct acting and 60 horsepower, for £2,600."

The screw as a propeller was in those early days making headway against the paddle wheel. Captain Douglas writes to Mr. Cunard on October 2nd, 1847:—

"Mr. Napier recommends 36-inch cylinders, instead of 30, which will give a power of about 80 horse, driving a nine-foot screw. He is at present experimenting on the different forms of propellers in a yacht called the 'Fire Queen.' She is the only vessel on the Cylde that has beaten the Queen's yacht 'Fairy,' and this was done with a three-bladed screw, instead of two, as is generally used; the speed attained by that vessel is 14 miles an hour; but he is not yet satisfied, and is now making another screw with two blades, but at a different pitch and driven at a less velocity."

He writes further with regard to screws on October 16, 1847:—

"The additional cost of screws was not contemplated in the first offer made by Mr. Caird; he calculated on the screw being of iron, which is in general use in iron vessels; the screws for these engines must be of gun metal; in consequence of the near approach to the copper, the cost of which will be considerable, as they will be very heavy. The dimensions are 9 feet diameter by 2 feet; the aperture in deadwood is 2 feet 2 inches the fore and aft way and 9 feet 2 inches the up and down way. The boilers are to be tubular, with brass tubes instead of iron."

On November 2 he writes to the same correspondent:—

"Mr. Napier is still experimenting on the screw, but is not yet satisfied. The last trial was an improvement on the one used when the 'Fire Queen' beat the 'Fairy Yacht.' They are now nearly ready for casting a third with two arms, but at an increased pitch, which will be driven at a less velocity, but giving greater propelling power—at least he hopes so."

Iron was first used in the construction of the hulls of ships by Brunel in the "Great Britain" in 1843, but though the Cunard Company's first iron ship was the Persia in 1856; the employment of iron in constructing the hulls of their small steamers by the partners in the Cunard Co. was under consideration nine years earlier, for on December 26, 1847, Capt. Douglas writes to Mr. Cunard:—

"There are now two vessels of iron that have been rununing only ten months, with engines of 50 horsepower, which power has been considered inadequate by their proprietors. They have therefore been condemned, and Messrs. Caird & Co. are placing engines of 70 horsepower in them—one of which, the 'Osmali,' has already started and worked admirably. The speed attained was nine miles, whereas before they only got six, and blowing hard could do nothing head to wind. These vessels are about 320 tons and are of iron. Your ships are 30 tons larger, and being of wood, will be more difficult to propel, as the aperture in the deadwood for working the screw in a wooden vessel cannot be constructed so successfully as in an iron one; consequently, more power is required."

This discussion on design of screws for propelling ships was held more than sixty years ago, and yet the question of the number of blades, as well as their pitch, seems to be as far from solution as ever.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC

SESSIONS OF 1911-17

No. 29

QUEBEC
Telegraph Printing Co.

1917

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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

11th JANUARY 1911

The annual general meeting was held on the 11th January, 1911.

Present:—Dr. John Hamilton, President; Dr. Harper, G. M. Fairchild, Jr., J. M. Johnston, G. E. A. Jones, P. B. Casgrain, Col. Wood, James Geggie, E. T. D. Chambers, F. C. Wurtele, Col. Turnbull, Stuart-Oliver, W. Smith, Colonel Davidson, A. H. Cook, Cyr. Tessier, D. H. Geggie, A. Robertson, P. Gagnon, T. Aylwin, W. Clint, A. McAdams, Captain Bartlett, Dr. G. M. Parmelee, Captain Boulton.

The President read the annual report of the Council, which expressed satisfaction that through the liberality of Dr. Douglas and of the Governors of Morrin College, the Society had been enabled to arrange for a course of lectures which had been delivered as follows: Professor S. B. Leacock on "The Outlook for Imperial Unity"; Professor J. L. Morrison on "Two Centuries of Parliamentary Life"; Professor S. B. Leacock on "Socialism", and Professor Dyde on "Abraham Lincoln."

Reference was also made to the publication during the year of No. 28 of the Transactions of the Society, containing a paper on the S. S. Unicorn by Capt. Walter Douglas, her commander, and also a paper on "Admiral Bayfield," contributed and read before the Society by Captain J. G. Bolton, R. N. In this connection the report added "It is interesting to note that this paper completes the hydrographic history of the St. Lawrence for five centuries. Jacques Cartier was the hydrographer of the sixteenth century, Champlain of the seventeenth, Cook of the eighteenth, Bayfield of the nineteenth, and the St. Lawrence Pilot of 1907 of the twentieth."

The report continued: "Portraits of several of the ex-presidents of the Society have been acquired, and those now in position in the hall leading to the Society's rooms are as follows: Hon. W. Sheppard, G. B. Faribault, Sir James M. LeMoine, Dr. James Anderson, Dr. James Douglas, Dr. George Stewart, Hon. D. A. Ross, P. B. Casgrain, Archibald Campbell, Cyrille Tessier. It has been proposed to secure, as far as may be possible, portraits of all past presidents of the Society.

"The large and valuable collection of books forming the Aylwin library has been catalogued, and it is expected that before long the members of the Society will have access to the books therein contained."

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

This was presented by Mr. E. T. D. Chambers, Honorary Librarian, and showed that the circulation of books had increased from 3,941 in 1906; 4,592 in 1907; 5,130 in 1908; to 6,167 in 1909, and 7,427 in 1910. The number of bound books added to the Library in 1910 was 468.

OFFICERS ELECTED.

The election of officers resulted as follows:—

President:—John Hamilton, D.C.L.

Vice-Presidents:—J. T. Ross, Col. Turnbull, A. H. Cook, K.C., and Dr. Harper.

Treasurer:—James Geggie.

Recording-Secretary:—A. Robertson, K.C.

Corresponding-Secretary:—Colonel Crawford Lindsay.

Council Secretary:—William Clint.

Librarian:—E. T. D. Chambers

Curator of Museum:—Phileas Gagnon.

Curator of Apparatus:—Colonel Neilson.

Additional Members of Council:—Col. Davidson, Rev. P. M. O'Leary, Rev. F. G. Scott and Mr. Justice McCorkill.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

10th JANUARY, 1912

The annual general meeting was held on the 10th of January, 1912.

Present:—John Hamilton, D.C.L., in the chair, Col. Wood, G. M. Fairchild, P. B. Casgrain, E. T. D. Chambers, Cyr. Tessier, P. G. Owen, J. Brown, J. M. Johnston, Col. Turnbull, D. Watson, Rev. F. G. Scott, D.C.L., Colonel Neilson, M.D., D. D. O'Meara, F. C. Wurtele, James Geggie, P. Gagnon, J. Sutherland, G. Willrich, W. McAdams, R. C. Muir and A. Robertson.

The report of the Council was read by Mr. Alex. Robertson and gave a resumé of the transactions of the Society during the year just closed. Reference was made in it to the four lectures which had been given under the joint auspices of the Society and of the Governors of Morrin College, and also to the fact that portraits of John Langton, M.A., Hon. D. A. Ross, E. A. Meredith, M.A., Daniel Wilkie, M.A., Hon. A. W. Cochrane and James Stevenson had been added to the collection of past presidents. There still remain to be acquired, if at all possible, portraits of a number of other past presidents, and it is hoped that the Society will be successful in securing copies of these. Reference was also made in the report to the departure of Earl Grey, late Governor-General of Canada, who had evinced, during his stay in the country, a keen interest in the Society.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

The Report of the Honorary Librarian, Mr. E. T. D. Chambers, showed that large donations of books had been made to the Library by Mrs. Andrew Thomson and by Captain J. A. Benyon.

OFFICERS ELECTED

After the presentation and adoption of the Reports of the Council, the Treasurer and the Librarian, the election of officers was proceeded with and resulted as follows:

President:—Col. Neilson.

Vice-Presidents:—Col. Turnbull, J. T. Ross, A. H. Cook and Judge McCorkill.

Treasurer:—James Geggie.

Recording-Secretary:—A. Robertson.

Corresponding-Secretary:—Col. Lindsay.

Council Secretary:—William Clint.

Librarian:—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum:—P. Gagnon.

Curator of Apparatus:—J. M. Johnston.

Additional Members of Council:—Rev. F. G. Scott, Rev. P. M. O'Leary, D. D. O'Meara and Dr. Harper.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

9th JANUARY, 1913

The annual general meeting was held on the 9th January, 1913, the President, Dr. Neilson, in the chair.

The President submitted the report of the Council for the year 1912, which referred to the advantages offered to members by the Society's library of about 26,000 volumes, and also to the intention of the Council to publish another series of Historical Documents, including the Journal of Lady Durham.

The loss sustained by the Society in the death of the late Sir James Macpherson LeMoine, who had done so much by his literary labors to extend its fame, and also in the deaths of the late George M. Fairchild, S. S. Bennett, Major Morgan and Stuart H. Dunn, was feelingly referred to.

The report of the Librarian indicated the increased interest taken in the Reading Room and Library of the Society. No less than 540 bound volumes had been added to the Library during the year, and the number of books in circulation was 6,845.

The following officers were elected:

President:—Col. Neilson.

Vice-Presidents:—Col. J. F. Turnbull, J. T. Ross, A. H. Cook, K.C., and Hon. Judge McCorkill.

Treasurer:—James Geggie.

Recording-Secretary:—A. Robertson, K.C.

Corresponding Secretary:—Col. Crawford Lindsay.

Council Secretary:—William Clint.

Librarian:—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum:—Phileas Gagnon.

Curator of Apparatus:—J. M. Johnston.

Additional Members of Council:—Rev. F. G. Scott, Rev. P. M. O'Leary, Dr. Harper, D D. O'Meara.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

14th JANUARY, 1914

The annual general meeting was held on the 14th January 1914.

Present:—Colonel Neilson, President, and Messrs. D. H. Geggie, Rev. P. M. O'Leary, Col. Wood, D.C.L., Major Lampson, E. T. D. Chambers, J. M. Johnston, W. Clint, W. MacAdams, D. Jewell, Dr. Harper, P. B. Casgrain, James Geggie, Cyr. Tessier, Frank Glass and A. Robertson.

The Report of the Council referred to the lectures delivered during the year by Lt.-Col. Greville Harston on the Panama Canal, and by Rev. Father O'Leary on Quebec a Century Ago; the last mentioned including a description of the Duberger relief plan of the city completed in 1810, and illustrated by photographic details of the plan in question.

Reference was also made in the report to the fact that the 9th Series of Historical Documents was then passing through the press, and also to the presentation to the Society by Major de Lotbinière Panet, of the handsome mahogany writing desk, which had been used for several years by the late Sir George E. Cartier, Bart.

Regret was expressed at the deaths of Messrs. E. E. Code, Harcourt Smith, H. M. Price, Col. J. Bell Forsyth and Frank Holloway, members of the Society.

The Librarian, E. T. D. Chambers, reported an addition of 722 volumes to the Library during the year. The number issued to members was 8,140.

The election of officers resulted as follows:

President:—Hon. Mr. Justice McCorkill.

Vice-Presidents:—Col. Turnbull, J. T. Ross, A. H. Cook, K.C. and Dr. Harper.

Treasurer:—James Geggie.

Recording-Secretary:—A. Robertson.

Corresponding Secretary:—Col. Crawford Lindsay.

Council Secretary:—William Clint.

Librarian:—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum:—P. Gagnon.

Curator of Apparatus:—J. M. Johnston.

Additional Members of Council:—Rev. Canon F. G. Scott, Rev. P. M. O'Leary, David Geggie and F. Lampson.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

12th JANUARY, 1915

The annual general meeting was held on the 12th January, 1915.

Present:—Mr. Justice McCorkill, President, and Messrs. D. H. Geggie, Col. Wood, D.C.L., E. T. D. Chambers, W. Clint, F. Lampson, Dr. J. M. Harper, Cyr. Tessier, D. D. O'Meara, Colonel Neilson, James Geggie, A. Robertson and F. Glass.

The President, Mr. Justice McCorkill occupied the chair and read the report of the Council, which among other matters made reference to the Society's Library and its appeals to the reading public. The Society was represented at the meeting of the Royal Society in Montreal by Dr. Harper, who had given a very interesting report of the Society's work.

Reference was made to the war and to the fact that three of the Society's most prominent members, Rev. Canon Scott, Rev. Father O'Leary (both Chaplains) and Lt. Col. D. Watson were with the first Canadian Contingent and on the eve of leaving Salisbury Plain for the firing line. During the mobilization of this contingent at Valcartier a number of interesting books were sent by the Society to the Y.M.C.A. tent at the camp for distribution among the forces. Feeling reference was made to the deaths of three prominent members of the Society: Right Rev. Dr. Dunn, Bishop of Quebec, Hon. Peter S. G. Mackenzie and Mr. Wm. A. Marsh.

The Report of the Librarian was submitted by Mr. E. T. D. Chambers. Reference was made in it to the gratifying increase in the utility of the Library, as more extensive use had been made of it lately than in previous years. The additions to the

Library were more important for their value than their number. The circulation had numbered some 8,395 volumes.

The election of officers resulted as follows:

President:—Dr. J. M. Harper.

Vice-Presidents:—Col. Turnbull, J. T. Ross, A. H. Cook and D. H. Geggie.

Treasurer:—James Geggie.

Recording Secretary:—A. Robertson.

Corresponding Secretary:—Col. Crawford Lindsay.

Council Secretary:—William Clint.

Librarian:—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum:—P. Gagnon.

Curator of Apparatus:—J. M. Johnston.

Additional Members of Council:—Rev Dr. Scott, Rev. P. M. O'Leary, F. Lampson and J. C. Sutherland.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

13th JANUARY, 1916

The Annual Meeting was held on the 13th January, 1916.

There were present:—Dr. J. M. Harper, president, in the Chair, and Colonel Neilson, John T. Ross, P. B. Casgrain, J. C. Sutherland, Judge Willrich, F. Lampson, W. Clint, A. Robertson, Cyr. Tessier, Colonel Wood, E. T. D. Chambers, D. D. O'Meara, D. H. Geggie and F. Glass.

The Report of the Council was read by the President and made special mention of "the culmination of a long and uninterrupted series of benefactions from Dr. James Douglas, the Honorary President of the Society, namely the conveyance to the Trustees of the sum of ten thousand dollars for the maintenance of the library as well as towards other objects. And during the year of which this is the report, Dr. Douglas has bestowed upon the Society an additional gift of five thousand dollars, the interest of which is to be spent on the purchase of books of the higher grade of literature on History, Geography and Science. The Society, in gratefully accepting this additional generous gift, passed a resolution acknowledging the varied patronage which the Society has received during a period of years from Dr. Douglas, and assuring the donor that it was the unanimous purpose of the Society to carry out his wishes in every respect. According to this resolution, the Trustees were requested to take charge of the amount for investment, these Trustees being Messrs. John T. Ross and A. H. Cook, both Governors of Morrin College. A special deed has been ordered to be drawn up for the administration of this second gift from one of the best friends the Society has ever had."

Reference was made to the deaths during the year of two members of the Council:—Messrs. James Geggie, one of the most efficient Treasurers the Society could well have had, and one who took the closest interest in all the Society's affairs, and who had been replaced by Mr. Arthur Ahern, and Mr. Phileas Gagnon, whose antiquarian interest in pamphlets and books of all kinds made him an influence in the Society's deliberations. Other members who passed away during the year were Messrs. Alexander MacAdams, John H. Holt, J. J. Dunlop and W. W. Johnston.

The presence of several members of the Society at the seat of war was mentioned. Those referred to were General Turner, General Watson, Captain Tapp, Rev. Father O'Leary, Rev. Canon Scott, Okill Learmonth, W. Lee, F. M. Stanton and G. Fairie.

Mr. E. T. D. Chambers, Honorary Librarian referred in his report to the large increase in the circulation of books from the Library, amounting for the last year to 8,797 volumes.

The officers elected for 1916 were:—

Hon. President:—Dr. James Douglas.

President:—Dr. J. M. Harper.

Vice-Presidents:—Col. Turnbull, J. T. Ross, A. H. Cook, K.C. and D. H. Geggie.

Treasurer:—Arthur Ahern.

Recording Secretary:—A. Robertson, K.C.

Corresponding-Secretary:—Lt. Col. Lindsay.

Council Secretary:—Wm. Clint.

Hon. Librarian:—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum:—D. D. O'Meara.

Curator of Apparatus:—F. Glass.

Additional Members of Council:—Rev. F. G. Father O'Leary, F. Lampson and J. C. Sutherland.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

10th JANUARY, 1917

The Annual meeting were held on the 10th January, 1917.

Those present were Dr. Harper, President, in the Chair and Messrs. J. T. Ross, Colonel Wood, F. Lampson, C. Lindsay, D. D. O'Meara, E. T. D. Chambers, A. Ahern, A. Robertson, J. C. Sutherland, F. Glass, W. Clint, L. C. Carrier.

The Reports of the Council, of the Treasurer and of the Librarian were respectively read and adopted.

Colonel Wood moved, seconded by Mr. Frank Glass and it was resolved that as soon as the new numbers of periodicals are received, the back numbers of such as are deemed suitable be given for the use of returned invalided soldiers; and also that the Book Committee be empowered to give suitable books from the Society's shelves to the returned invalided soldiers at the Khaki and Oversea Clubs and at the Discharge Depot, the said Committee reporting progress at every monthly meeting as to the books they propose to give in the next lot.

ANNUAL REPORT

The Annual Report of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec for 1917 is as follows:

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec begs most respectfully to submit this the eighty-fourth annual report of the said Society to the members thereof on this the 10th of January, 1917.

Through the co-operation of the Governors of Morrin College and the continued liberality of Dr. James Douglas of New York, its beneficent patron, the Society has not only been able to hold its own, but has extended its activities towards an improvement in the various departments of its work. The accommodations and room-space in the College Buildings have been somewhat extended for the Society's use, while the comforts of the members making daily use of the main reading-room have been enhanced by sundry improvements in the furniture and lighting appliances. The so-called Aylwin Library has been placed, as an adjunct for literary research, under the supervision of the Society and for the use of its members; while the lease of the premises occupied by the Society has been renewed and extended for a period of twenty years. The Committee for the selection of new books for the library deserves the commendation of the Society, as may be borne out by the report of the Librarian. The copy of Transactions, or the inner history of the Society, covering the period since the last issue of the same, is on the way of being published, to be distributed among the members as well as to the various societies that continue to send us exchanges.

Considerable attention has been given to the inauguration of the Douglas Course of Lectures, the first lecture having been given by Professor J. Austin Bancroft, on the 10th of November last, under the title of "Reptiles of the Past". There was a large and appreciative audience present to enjoy the exceedingly lucid and instructive treatment of such an engrossing scientific study, in its relation to the origin of man himself. As a second lecture of the course, arrangements have all but been made to have Professor Cunliffe of Columbia University, New York, deliver his celebrated lecture on "Shakespeare and his Songs" illustrated by vocal renderings of the same by competent vocalists. When once started as an annual series of events in Quebec, the Douglas Course of Lectures cannot but have an elevating, if not a lasting educational effect, on the community.

The finances of the Society, as the Treasurer's Report cannot but show to the members, are in a healthy condition; and,

with an increase of membership, there is every reason to look forward to a continuing success in every branch of the Society's work. The incoming officers have only to keep in view the several main branches of that work, with neglect towards none of them, including literary and historical research, and the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec cannot but become more and more of a quickening to the intellectual life of the community, as it keeps in touch with the Royal Society of Canada and its sister societies all over the world.

During the year, the death-roll of members includes the names of Col. Irvine, Col. Archie Hay, Herbert O'Meara, A. Sturton, and Joseph Winfield. Among those of our members who have gone to the front, or have put themselves in training for going there, may be mentioned General Turner, General Watson, Rev. Father O'Leary, Rev. Canon Scott, Sir William Price, Major Gibsone, Lieut. Learmonth, Herbert McGreevy, and George Nichol. No less than fourteen on our list of membership have removed from the city as their place of residence, while only twenty new members have been enrolled. Surely during the coming year, with the advantages of being a member of such a society known of by everybody in the community, the addition of new members ought to be doubled if not trebled. The Society has reached its eighty-fourth year. We have just been presenting one of our ex-presidents with an address on his completing his ninetieth year. The Society itself, as an institution for literary and historical research is one of the oldest in the Overseas Dominions of the Empire, nearing its century of work, growing old but still an intellectual resort for both young and old.

J. M. Harper,
Retiring President.

REPORT OF HON. LIBRARIAN, January, 1917.

The Hon. Librarian begs to submit the following Report:

During the year 1916 the number of bound volumes added to the Library was 406, of which six are donations.

The additions may be classified as follows:—

Questions of the Day	50
History (Canadian)	9
" (General)	34
Biography	33
Geography and Travel	12
Naval and Military	75
Religion and Education	9
Science	13
Poetry and the Drama	14
Fiction	130
General Literature	10
Art, Music, Architecture	6
Sport	1
Miscellaneous	10
	406
No. of Vols. added in 1915	391
Increase for 1916	15

Seventy-one of the choicest of the above volumes, whose titles are given on page 21, together with unbound parts of the Times History of the War were purchased with the revenue from the special Library endowment of Dr. Douglas for the purchase of books upon history, geography and science.

The expenditure for books during the year has been $653.12.

While we have last year had the benefit of the revenue coming from Dr. Douglas' last generous gift of five thousand dollars, the book purchase fund has had to do without the annual grant of $250 from the Governors of Morrin College, which it had received for some years previously, because of its expenditure by the Governors upon the interior and the furnishings of the Society's rooms.

Notwithstanding the increased absorption of people's attention by the many questions arising out of the war, and the greatly reduced time that can be devoted to reading by members of our society and those of their families so largely interested in patriotic work of various kinds, the circulation of books from the Library has shown scarcely any change from that of the preceding year, the total number of volumes taken from the shelves during the twelve months having been 8,706, against 8,797 in 1915. It is always more or less difficult to enforce the rule limiting to two weeks the time in which books should remain in the hands of members. But at the present time, out of the total circulation of 8,706 volumes, only 134 have been out of the Library more than the two weeks allowed by our rules.

As indicating the various tastes of those who make use of the Library, the following classification has been made of the book circulation of the year:

No. of Vols. Issued during 1916 and classified as follows:—

CLASSIFICATION

Questions of the Day	97
History (Canadian)	40
" General	125
Biography	157
Geography and Travel	202
Naval and Military	445
Religion and Education	36
Science	107
Poetry and Drama	73
Fiction	7067
General Literature	104
Art, Music, Architecture	29
Sport	13
Miscellaneous	211
	8706

No. Issued 1915	8797
No. Issued 1916	8706
Decrease for 1916	91
No. of Vols. out over 2 weeks	134

The usual exchanges have been received, as well as a number of donations for which thanks are duly tendered. These include the following:

DONATIONS

Armory and Lineages of Canada, 1915...Herbert George Todd.
Quebec Diocesan Gazette.....F. C. Wurtele.
L'Enseignement Secondaire au Canada..Laval University.
Trinity University Review.....The University.
India and the War.....Dom. Govt.
Musical Times.....
Society Sons of the Revolution, Roster...State of California.
Pamphlets relating to the War and Belgium.....Belgian Consul, Que.
Guides to Spanish History (pamphlets)..Unknown.
The Crusades of 1838.....Prof. Wrong.
Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada..... do
Militia List of Canada.....F. C. Wurtele.
Bryce Report.....Dom. Govt.
Critical Period 1764-65. Illinois Historical Collections X.....P. B. Casgrain.
New Régime 1765-67. Illinois Historical Collections XI..... do

The whole respectfully submitted,

E. T. D. CHAMBERS.
Honorary Librarian.

Quebec, January 11th, 1917.

OFFICERS ELECTED

Messrs. F. Lampson and F. Glass were asked to act as scrutineers, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

Hon. President:—Dr. James Douglas.

President:—Dr. Geo. W. Parmelee.

Vice-Presidents:—Colonel J. F. Turnbull, J. T. Ross, A. H. Cook and Colonel Wood, D.C.L.

Treasurer:—Arthur Ahern.

Recording-Secretary:—Lt.-Colonel Lindsay.

Council Secretary:—William Clint.

Honorary Librarian:—E. T. D. Chambers.

Curator of Museum:—D. D. O'Meara.

Curator of Apparatus:—F. Glass.

Additional Members of Council:—Rev. Canon Scott, D.C.L., C.M.G., Rev. Father O'Leary, F. Lampson and J. C. Sutherland.

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1917.

DR. JAMES DOUGLAS	Hon. President.
DR. GEO. PARMELEE	President.
COLONEL J. F. TURNBULL	Vice-Presidents.
J. T. ROSS	Vice-Presidents.
A. H. COOK	Vice-Presidents.
COLONEL WOOD, D.C.L	Vice-Presidents.
ARTHUR AHERN	Treasurer.
A. ROBERTSON, K.C	Recording Secretary.
LT.-COLONEL LINDSAY	Corresponding Secretary.
WILLIAM CLINT	Council Secretary.
E. T. D. CHAMBERS	Honorary Librarian.
D. D. O'MEARA	Curator of Museum.
F. GLASS	Curator of Apparatus.
REV. CANNON SCOTT, LL.D., C.M.G.	Additional Members of Council.
REV. FATHER O'LEARY	Additional Members of Council.
F. LAMPSON	Additional Members of Council.
J. C. SUTHERLAND	Additional Members of Council.

and all ex-Presidents of the Society.

BOOKS PURCHASED FROM Dr. DOUGLAS'

SPECIAL GRANT, DURING 1916

Men of the Old Stone Age, Henry Fairfield Orborn.
The Fighting Cheyennes, George Bird Grinnell.
The Canadian Commonwealth, Agnes C. Laut.
Heroes of the South Pole, Frank London.
The Capture of De Wet, Philip J. Sampson.
Jacques Cartier and his four Voyages to Canada, Hiram B. Stephens.
Jerusalem and the Crusades, Estelle Blyth.
A Journalist in the Holy Land, Arthur E. Copping.
Civilization and Climate, Elsworth Huntingdon.
Forty years in Constantinople 1873-1915, Sir Edwin Pears.
Life and Letters of John Hay. (2 Vols.,) William Roscoe Thayer.
Makers of New France, Charles Dawbarn.
Serbia, Her People, History and Aspirations, Woislav M. Petrovitch.
Germany in 19th Century.
The Evolution of Prussia, J. A. R. Marriott and C. G. Robertson.
The Times History of the War,
The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria, Morris Jastrow.
Joseph Pennell's Pictures in Land of Temples, Jos. Pennell.
Round the Wonderful World, G. E. Milton.
From Workhouse to Westminster. (Story of Will. Crooks, M. P.), George Haw.
Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Beckles Willson.
Railway Wonders of the World (2 Vols.), Frederick A. Talbot.
Travels in Alaska, John Muir.
The Dardanelles, Norman Wilkinson.
Prussian Memories 1864-1914, Poultney Bigelow.
The Colonization of Australia 1829-42, Richard Charles Mills.
The Story of the Royal Scots, Lawrence Weaver.
A History of Persia (2 Vols.), Lt.-Col. P. M. Sykes.
An Atlas of Modern Europe 1789-1914, Robertson and Bartholomew.
The South Americans, W. H. Koebel.
Life of Field Marshal Sir Geo. White, V. C., Sir Mortimer Durand.
Adventures of Missionary Explorers, R. M. A. Ibbotson.
A History of France (3 Vols.), J. R. Moreton Macdonald.
The Diplomacy of the War of 1914, Ellery C. Stowell.
Belgium the Glorious (2 Vols.), Well Known Authors.
The English Franciscans under Henry 8th, John Sever.
An Artist in Russia, Walter Lyndale, R. I.
The Balkan Peninsula, Frank Fox.
The Making of British India 1756-1858, Ramsay Muir.
South of Panama, Edward Alsworth Ross.

Sketches from Formosa, Rev. W. Campbell.
A Hist. of the Gold Coast and Ashanti (2 Vols.), W. Walton Claridge.
The Ibex of Sha-Ping, Lieut. L. B. Rundall.
Apotheosis and After Life, Mrs. Arthur Strong.
The Makers of the Kirk, T. Ratcliff Barnett.
South West Africa, During German Occupation, Albert F. Calvert.
Poland, W. Alison Phillips.
Russia, The Balkans and the Dardanelles, Granville Fortesque.
Memories (2 Vols.), Lord Redesdale.
Delane of the Times, Sir Edward Cook.
Thirty years in Russia, George Hume.
Soldiers of the Tsar, Julius West.
The Beothucks, or Red Indians of Newfoundland, James P. Howley.
The Cruise of the Janet Nichol, Mrs. R. L. Stevenson.
The Artistic Anatomy of Trees, Rex Vicat Cole.
Epistles from the Deep Seas, J. E. Patterson.
The Canadian Bird Book, Chester A. Reed.
Finland and the Finns, Arthur Reade.
Sandford Fleming. Empire Builder, Lawrence J. Burpee.
Journals of Lady Knightly of Fawsley 1856-1884, Julia Cartwright (Editor).
Nelson's History of the War (10 Vols.), John Buchan.
Historical Journal of Capt. John Knox of the Campaigns in North America 1757-1760, A. G. Doughty (Editor).
Thomson's Narrative 1784-1812, J. B. Tyrrell (Editor).
Champlain Society's Publications,
Abraham Lincoln, Lord Charnwood.
do **Personal Recollections of,** Henry B. Rankin.
Oxford and its Story, Cecil Headlam.
Jeffery. A Biography, Lawrence Shaw Mayo.
Abraham Lincoln (the Temple Biographies), Henry Bryan Binns.
Alfred Tennyson, (the Temple Biographies), Robert F. Horton.
The Lawrences of the Punjab, (the Temple Biographies), Frederick P. Gibbon.
Mazzini, (the Temple Biographies), Bolton King.
Thos Harrison, Regicide, Major Genl., (the Temple Biographies), C. H. Simpkinson.
Emma Darwin 1792-1896 (2 Vols.), C. H. Simpkinson.
The Red Indians of the Plains, Rev. J. Hines.
The Norman in European History, Charles Homer Haskins.
Drake and the Tudor Navy (2 Vols.), Julian S. Corbett.
Elizabethian Seamen (2 Vols.), E. J. Payne.
Elizabeth Pease Nichol, Anna Stoddart.
George Frederick Watts, R. A. (Temple Biographies), Hugh Macmillan.
Sir George Grey, Pioneer of Empire, Geo. C. Henderson.
A Short History of Belgium, Leon Van Der Essen.

The Irish Rebellion of 1916, John F. Boyle.
Mounted Police Life in Canada, Capt. R. Burton Dean.
The Last Voyage of the Karluk, Stefansson's Exped. 1913-1916, Capts Bartlett & Hale.
The Sinn Fein Rebellion as I saw it, Mrs. Hamilton Norway.
Texas the Marvellous, Nevin O'Winter.
The Spell of Egypt, Archie Bell.
The Spell of Japon, Isabel Anderson.
Recollections of an Admiral's Wife 1903-16, Lady Poore.
Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada, Chester Martin.
Lord Granville's Letters and Correspondence 1781-1821, Countess Granville (Editor).
From Boundary Rider to Prime Minister Hughes of Australia, Douglas Sladen.
W. M. Hughes, the Strong Man of Australia, Stanhope W. Sprigg.

THE LATE P. B. CASGRAIN, ESQ., K. C.

On the 12th day of September, 1917, at the first general meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec held after the death at the age of 90 years, of the late P. B. Casgrain, K. C., ex-President of the Society, the followiug resolution was unanimously adopted:—

RESOLVED that this, the Quebec Literary and Historical Society record its deep regret at the death of P. B. Casgrain, Esq., K.C., who was for some sixty years a member, and for four years a President, of this Society.

During Mr. Casgrain's long and useful membership his interest in the welfare of the Society, and especially in all matters relating to the history of Canada, was unflagging, but this meeting particularly desires to recall Mr. Casgrain's successful efforts, with those of others, to save the Society from threatened extinction half a century ago, after the destruction of its rooms by fire, and his active co-operation in the successful efforts that were more recently made for the preservation of the Plains of Abraham as a national memorial to the most far-reaching event of all Canadian History.

The Council of this Society will long miss the regular attendance at its meetings of Mr. Casgrain, whose sound judgment, wise counsels, and sympathetic personality won and held the respect and admiration of all his associates.

To the remaining members of his family this Council wishes to express its deep sympathy in their bereavement.

PAST PRESIDENTS OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1824 . . . . . Sir N. F. Burton, Lt.-Governor.
1828 . . . . . Hon. Mr. Reid, Chief Justice.
1829 . . . . . Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R.N.
1830 . . . . . Hon. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice.
1831 . . . . . " " " "
1832 . . . . . Hon. Andrew Stuart, K.C.
1833 . . . . . Hon. W. Sheppard.
1834 . . . . . do "
1835 . . . . . Joseph Skey, M.D.
1836 . . . . . Rev. Daniel Wilkie, L.L.D.
1837 . . . . . Hon. Andrew Stuart, K.C.
1838 . . . . . " " "
1839 . . . . . Wm. Kelly, M.D. R.N.
1840 . . . . . " " " "
1844 . . . . . G. B. Faribault.
1845 . . . . . Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1846 . . . . . John C. Fisher, L.L.D.
1847 . . . . . Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1848 . . . . . Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1849 . . . . . G. B. Faribault.
1850 . . . . . " "
1851 . . . . . " "
1852 . . . . . " "
1853 . . . . . " "
1854 . . . . . " "
1855 . . . . . E. A. Meredith, M.A.
1856 . . . . . W. Andrew.
1857 . . . . . " "
1858 . . . . . G. B. Faribault.
1859 . . . . . " "
1860 . . . . . E. A. Meredith, M.A.
1861 . . . . . " " "

1862 . . . . . John Langton, M.A.
1863 . . . . . " " "
1864 . . . . . " " "
1865 . . . . . " " "
1866 . . . . . Com. E. D. Ashe, R.N.
1867 . . . . . " " "
1868 . . . . . Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D.
1869 . . . . . Prof. James Douglas.
1870 . . . . . Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1871 . . . . . J. M. LeMoine.
1872-3 . . . . . Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1873 . . . . . Com. E. D. Ashe, R.N., F.R.S.
1874 . . . . . Prof. James Douglas.
1875 . . . . . do " "
1876 . . . . . James Stevenson.
1877 . . . . . " "
1878 . . . . . " "
1879 . . . . . J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C.
1880 . . . . . " " "
1881 . . . . . " " "
1882 . . . . . " " "
1883 . . . . . Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.
1884 . . . . . " " "
1885 . . . . . G. Stewart, D.C.L., F.R.S.C., F.R.G.S.
1886 . . . . . " " " "
1887 . . . . . " " " "
1888 . . . . . " " " "
1889 . . . . . " " " "
1890 . . . . . " " " "
1891 . . . . . " " " "
1892 . . . . . Cyrille Tessier.
1893 . . . . . " "
1894 . . . . . Archibald Campbell.
1895 . . . . . " "
1896 . . . . . Rev. R. W. Norman, D.D., Dean of Quebec
1897 . . . . . Rev. R. W. Norman, D.D., Dean of Quebec.

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1905 . . . . . " " " "
1906 . . . . . P. B.Casgrain.
1907 . . . . . " "
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1909 . . . . . " " "
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1913 . . . . . " "
1914 . . . . . Mr. Justice McCorkill.
1915 . . . . . Dr. J. M. Harper.
1916 . . . . . " " "
1917 . . . . . G. W. Parmelee, D.C.L., L.L.D.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

FOUNDED IN 1824

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831

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The

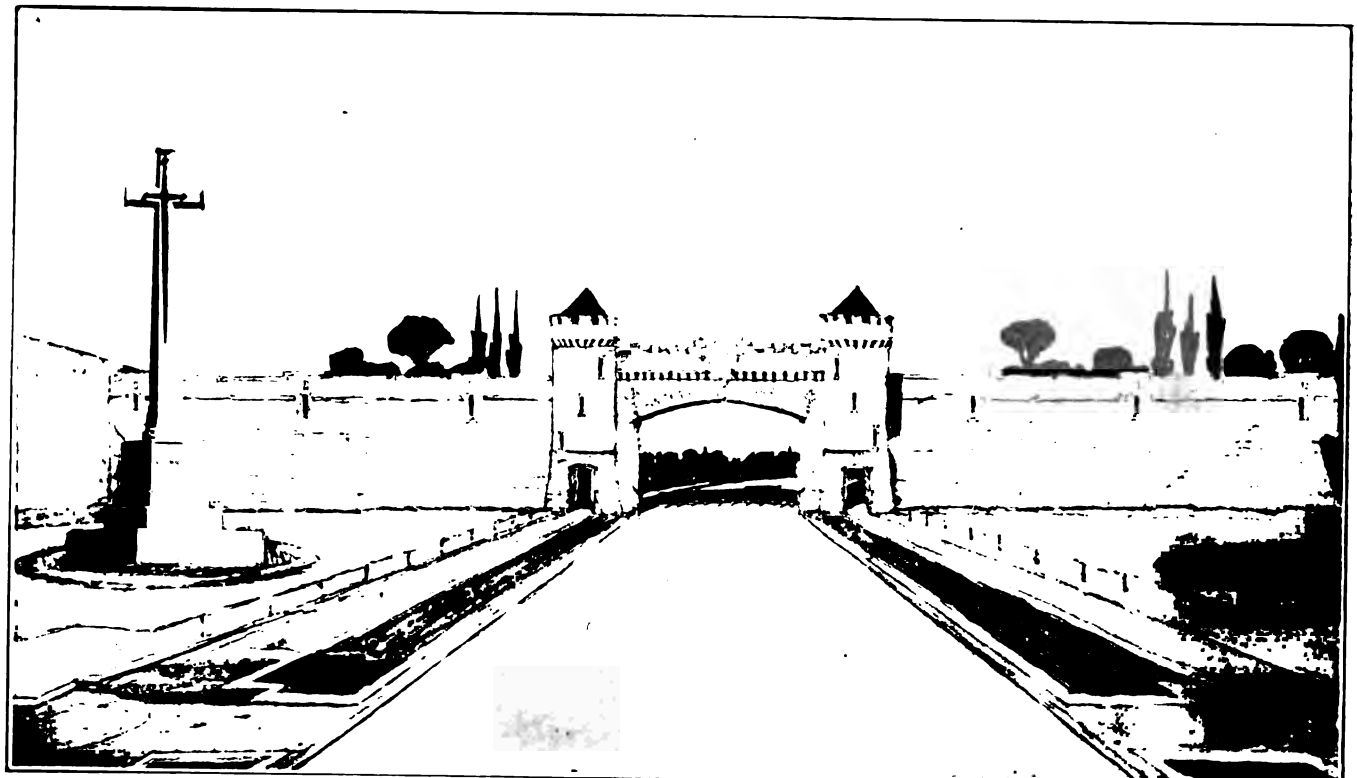
CENTENARY VOLUME

of the

LITERARY *and* HISTORICAL SOCIETY *of* QUEBEC

1824-1924

THE CENTENARY VOLUME



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1824-1924

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PREFACE BY THE PRESIDENT

As president of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC *in this year (1924) when we are celebrating the completion of a century of existence, it has fallen to me to write the preface to this Centenary Volume.*

It is a grateful task to commemorate the good labours of past generations. The present officers and members of the Society well know that the real glory of the institution was the splendid pioneer historical work that was accomplished in the first fifty or sixty years after its foundation in 1824. It was in that earlier period that the ideas and intentions expressed in the three letters by Lord Dalhousie in 1823 — printed in this volume—were so extensively carried out by successive bands of capable and indefatigable workers. It was their essential task to gather the documents and other information throwing light upon different features of early Canadian history. In doing this they not only gathered and preserved many valuable sources but their activities also served to stimulate like research elsewhere.

Within the last forty or fifty years, however, the task of gathering historical data has been rightly taken over, and carried on with increasing assiduity, by the Archives departments or branches of the Dominion and Provincial Governments.

But if the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF QUEBEC *basks to-day in a reflected glory from the past, as far as historical research is concerned, it has functions at the present time of an important character. It is the custodian of many original documents which it freely places at the disposal of authorized persons, and from time to time the Society has published valuable material that might otherwise have failed to reach the hands of the general student. This has been possible by means of a special endowment to that end given by a former president, the late Dr. James Douglas of New York. Dr. Douglas also left other endowments (the total amounting to twenty thousand dollars)—Five thousand of which is held in trust, by the Governors of Morrin College, under deed of gift by Dr. Douglas, for special lectures, under the joint auspices of this Society and Morrin College, and enables them to provide a series of educational lectures during the Winter months, which are entirely free to the general public: another five thousand of the amount provides for the purchase of books on History, Geography, and Science exclusively. The Society's habitat is Morrin College, Quebec; the rooms occupied being supplied through the courtesy of the Governors of Morrin College, free of rental while this Society continues in its present efforts to spread enlightenment on educational matters of popular and scientific interest.*

A monthly meeting of the Society is held on the second Wednesday, followed by a meeting of the Council; the election of members, the receiving Reports from the Treasurer and the Committees, and the

discussion of general business affecting the Society constitute the chief work of these meetings. The minute books of fifty to sixty years ago, indicate that at the monthly meetings the great majority of the members attended, and "like great Anna, whom " three realms obey, sometimes counsel took, and " sometimes tea"—the accounts presented from time to time for refreshments, look formidable to us to-day.

The history of the Society since 1824 given in this volume, was compiled and edited by Dr. Henry Ievers, who is Chairman of the Publication Committee of the Society; he has gathered from various records the historical data comprised therein.

The section on Unique Quebec *by Colonel William Wood was issued by the Society this year as a "separate" and was presented in that form to each member of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Canadian Historical Association.*

To Dr A. G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, we are indebted for matter contained in the "Dalhousie Papers", as well as other matter on interesting subjects of one hundred years ago relating to this Society, and also for The Duke of Wellington's Report on the defence of Canada from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes, etc., etc., etc.

J. C. SUTHERLAND

QUEBEC, August 20th 1924.

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR

The first Section of the CENTENARY VOLUME OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC *is issued to set forth the objects of the Society to record its Transactions both such as have been published and those yet awaiting publication: together with references to occurrences of especial interest, pertaining more particularly to Quebec.*

Partly owing to the many histories of the Great War—both Naval and Military—that have been written, little allusion is made to the supreme effort put forth by Canada: yet Quebec and its environs played a most important part on both land and sea. When the great emergency arose the Military Camp at Valcartier sprang into existence almost in a night, and from our harbour, the transports bore away the legions of our Best. Levis became a hive of industry, building vessels both for England and for France, and the mammoth dry dock with its extensive workshops gave needed aid, to stem the tide of German atrocities and save the world from bondage.

The Society is indebted to Dr. A. G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, for copies of letters and papers connected with Lord Dalhousie; Report of Duke of Wellington; Defence of Quebec; Royal Mail Schedule for 1824, and many other papers.

The Council of the Society decided last winter, to publish Unique Quebec, *then being prepared by Col. Wm. Wood, and also to include it in the Centenary Volume:—it is given in full at end of book.*

FOUNDATION OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

The formation of this Society was conceived by the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor-General of British North America in the year 1823, as evidenced by the following letters written by him to:

The Hon. Wm. Smith, 27th April, 1823.
Mr. Vallières de St. Real, 27th April, 1823.
The Hon. Wm. Smith, 7th May, 1823.

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to the Hon. Wm. Smith.*

QUEBEC, 27th April, 1823.

My dear Sir,

I have not lost sight of the conversation I had one day with you in last winter, on the subject of the early history of this Province, and the materials that are supposed to exist in the repositories of individuals or Public Institutions neglected and wasting. The History and language of the Indian tribes would form a principal branch of this interesting subject, and these are fast losing by neglect or decay. I should be highly gratified, could I induce you and the Chief Justice to join efforts with me in the formation of a Society, not entirely "Antiquarian" but Historical rather and Canadian. Our first field may be narrow but I am sure we

should soon be led into one of so wide a range as might prove of great utility to the Province.

In our good Bishop I rest confident of certain support; I have enlisted too Mr. Vallières, as Leader of our Canadian Bands, and if you with the Chief Justice shall join my standard, I shall feel bold to raise it, and propose the subject to the Public, or to such list of Individuals as we may form to begin upon.

I should be happy to see you any day before I go to Sorel. Meantime I remain.

Very sincerely yours,

DALHOUSIE

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Mr. Vallières de St. Real, Speaker of the Assembly.*

QUEBEC, 27th April, 1823.

Dear Sir,

I return with many thanks the Grammar of the Micmac language which you sent me to look at some time ago, and I revert with pleasure to the conversation which I had with you during the Session of Assembly upon the subject of the Indian tribes generally in this Province. I then suggested, and you agreed with me, that it was very desirable that some plan should be adopted to search for, and preserve, all documents or tracts that related to the early history of the Country and of the Aborigenes in it. Several other gentlemen in Quebec have spoken to me on the same subject,

and I am by that encouraged to think that with a very little exertion and public spirit some valuable information may be preserved, which if neglected at this period may be lost irrecoverably.

We find around us examples of Historical Societies in almost every civilised State. Why should not we attempt something of the same sort—In the first place amusing to ourselves individually, and likely to prove interesting to our Country when our time has passed away? I am aware that this requires consideration and arrangement and I therefore merely throw out the suggestion with that view. In looking round the Society of Quebec I see no one so well qualified to take a lead in it as you are—your pursuits in life, your habit of study, your station in Society, all fix my first proposal of it upon you. If you think it likely to succeed, if you are inclined to make the trial even, and will converse it over with those whom you may think to be so inclined also, I beg to offer all the aid and encouragement that may be in my power, either as an individual, or as in public station.

Although I go up to Sorel next week, that need not hurry your enquiries, or decision on the matter. I shall be glad to hear from you at any time at your leisure.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

DALHOUSIE

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to the Hon. Wm. Smith.*

QUEBEC, 7th May, 1823.

My dear Sir,

I am greatly encouraged by the hopes you give me in answer to my suggestions of the formation of an Historical Society. I have seen the Chief Justice and the Lord Bishop since I wrote you and I now venture to put on paper my ideas on the subject.

Taking it for granted that public improvement is greatly promoted by the various Societies established in England for almost every purpose that can be mentioned, I have seen with regret that in this Province we have none of these. Let us make an attempt; I think we may safely follow the footsteps of England in her public Institutions, however small and humble may be that attempt. My object would be to form a Society limited in numbers—I would say 24, but holding in view to augment, as well as to enlarge in scope, as we shall feel our strength and means to do so.

I would go no further at present than to name as a Committee those who have already been kind enough to approve my suggestion, and leave to their arrangement the names, and preliminary steps, so that when I come down here about the middle of next month, we may hold our first meeting in the Château St. Louis, and complete the formation of our Institution.

In the outset I would take as our principal

object the early history of Canada, and particularly that which relates to the Indians—to collect all books, papers, deeds, or documents which are supposed to be still existing but neglected—the Language of the several Indian Natives, their ceremonies of Religion—of War or Peace—their habits and customs of Life—their dress—their state in our days, and the means by which their condition may be improved.

Though I would not look further at first, there can be no doubt that from a Society thus constituted, every object of national improvement may originate, and hereafter our meetings may embrace Literature, Science, Education, and all other sources from whence spring the happiness of Society.

We must for this gather some funds, by an annual contribution of 8 or 10 dollars, with a small sum as donation to commence upon. The services of our Officers must at first be gratuitous. Our hall of Meeting shall be in one of the rooms of the old Château, which shall be prepared at all times for the purpose, until a better can be found.

We should invite a correspondence with all the Seminaries and Institutions of the Province, and with such individuals as may approve our pursuit.

The Departments of Government of the Province will afford every assistance, and I can add the assurance of that which may be in my power.

With this hasty sketch I leave the rough material in the able hands of the Committee to shape and to polish into a work of public utility, and great advantage to our private Society.

Believe me, My dear Sir,

Yours sincerely & faithfully,

DALHOUSIE

The Committee suggested by Lord Dalhousie, and approved, consisted of the following:—

The Lt. Governor
The Chief Justice
The Lord Bishop
The Speaker of the Assembly
Hon. Wm. Smith

CHARTER

OF

THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

WILLIAM THE FOURTH, by the Grace of GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith—To all to whom these presents shall come, or whom the same may concern—GREETING: Whereas an Association of divers of our loving subjects in the Province of Lower Canada, has been formed in the City of Quebec, in our said Province, under the name of the "LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC", for the prosecution of researches into the early history of Canada, for the recovering, procuring, and publishing, interesting documents and useful information, as the Natural, Civil and Literary History of British North America, and for the advancement of the Arts and Sciences in the said Province of Lower Canada, from which public benefit may be expected. And whereas it has been represented to us that the advantages to arise from the Association would be greatly increased and confirmed by the Incorporation of the Members thereof, and an humble application has been made to us that we would be graciously

pleased to grant our Royal Charter of Incorporation for this purpose. Now Know Ye—that being willing and desirous to afford encouragement to an Institution for objects so laudible and beneficial: We, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have willed, ordained, granted, and appointed, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, grant, and appoint, that George Earl of Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, John Adams, E lmund William Romer Antrobus, Charles Ardouin, Thomas Cushing Aylwin, Frederick Baddely, Henry W. Bayfield, Francis Bell, Henry Blake, Edward Bowen, William Brent, Joseph Bouchette, Robert Shore Milnes Bouchette, Joseph Bouchette, junior, George Bourne, Judge Burton, Edward Burroughs, John Caldwell, Hugh Caldwell, Archibald Campbell, Charles Campbell, John Saxton Campbell, John Cannon, Edward Caron, John P. Cockburn, Andrew Wm. Cochran, Thomas Coffin, James Cuthbert, John Davidson, William H. A. Davies, Dominick Daly, Jerôme Demers, Edward Desbarats, Frederic Desbarats, Robert D'Estimauville, William Dudley Dupont, William Bowman Felton, John Charlton Fisher, John Fletcher, William Findly, James B. Forsyth, John Fraser, John Malcolm Fraser, François Xavier Garneau, Augustin Germain, Manly Gore, William Green, Louis Gugy, John Hale, James Hamilton, André Rémi Hamel, Joseph Hamel, Victor Hamel, Aaron Hart, James Harkness, William Henderson, Frederick Ingall, William Kemble, William Kelly,

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and that they and their successors, shall from time to time, have power to alter, renew or change such common seal at their will and pleasure and as shall be found convenient, and that by the same name, they and their successors, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall be able and capable to have, take, receive, purchase, acquire, hold, possess, and enjoy, to them and their successors, to and for the uses and purposes of the said Corporation, any messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments of what nature, quality or kind soever, situate, lying and being within our said Province of Lower Canada, so as the same do not exceed in yearly value the sum of five hundred pounds sterling money of Great Britain, above all charges; and also to take, receive, purchase, acquire have, hold, possess and enjoy, to and for the same uses and purposes, any goods, chattels, gifts or benefactions whatsoever. And we do hereby grant and declare, that the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors for ever, by the same name, shall and may be able and capable to sue in law, and to be sued, plead and to be impleaded, answer and be answered, in all or any Court or Courts of Record within our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and our said Province of Lower Canada, and other our dominions, in all and singular actions, causes, pleas, suits, matters and demands whatsoever, in as large, ample and beneficial manner and form as any other body politic or corporate,

or any other liege subjects, being persons able and capable in law, may or can sue, implead or answer, or be sued, impleaded, or answered, in any matter whatsoever. And for the accomplishment of the purposes aforesaid, we do grant, ordain and declare, that the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors for ever, shall, on the second Wednesday in January yearly and every year, meet at some convenient place to be appointed by the said Society, or the major part of them who shall be present at any General Meeting, between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning; and that they or the major part of such of them as shall then be present, shall choose one President, one or more Vice-Presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, one or more Secretary or Secretaries, and such other Officers and Servants as shall be thought expedient, to serve in the said offices during the year next ensuing, and if by reason of any cause, matter or thing, the Election so to be held and made on the second Wednesday in the month of January, yearly as aforesaid, should be prevented, or may not be had or made, we grant and ordain that in every such case it shall be competent to the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors, or the major part of such of them as may be present at a Meeting to be held as soon after as may be convenient, to proceed to and make Election of a President, Vice-President, or Vice-Presidents, Treasurer or Treasurers, Secretary or

Secretaries, Officers and Servants, as aforesaid, and the Election so made shall be as valid and effectual as if they had been made on such second Wednesday in the month of January as aforesaid; and we do hereby grant and ordain that the Honorable Jonathan Sewell, our Chief Justice of our said Province, and a Member of our Executive and Legislative Councils of our said Province, shall be the first President of the said Society; and that the said President shall, within six months after the passing of the Charter, cause notice to be given to the several Members of the said Society herein before mentioned, to meet at such time and place as he shall appoint; and that they or the major part of such of them as shall then be present, shall proceed to the Election of one or more Vice-President or Vice-Presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, and one or more Secretary or Secretaries, and such other Officers and Servants as shall to them seem meet; which said Officers from the time of their Election to their respective offices, shall continue therein until the second Wednesday in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and from thenceforth until others shall be chosen in their places in manner aforesaid. And we do further grant and ordain, that if at any time or times, it shall happen that any of the persons chosen to the said offices respectively, shall die, or be removed from the said offices, or resign the same during the period for which they shall have been respectively

elected, then, and in every such case, it shall be lawful for the surviving and continuing President, or any one of the Vice-Presidents, to issue notice to the several Members of the said Corporation, to meet at the usual place at which the annual Meeting of the said Society shall be held, at such time as shall be specified in the said notice; and that the Members of the said Corporation who shall meet in pursuance of such notice, or the major part of them, shall and may choose an Officer or Officers, in the room and place of the person or persons who shall have died, or resigned, or have been removed as aforesaid, as to them shall seem meet. And we do further grant and ordain, that the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors, shall and may on the second Wednesday in every month, yearly and every year for ever hereafter, and oftener if occasion shall require, meet at some convenient place to be appointed for that purpose, to transact the business of the said Society; and shall and may at any meeting on such second Wednesday in the month, elect such persons to be Members of the said Corporation, as they or the major part of them present shall think expedient. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that no act done at any Meeting of the Society shall be valid and effectual unless the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, and eight other Members of the said Society at least be present, and the major part of them do consent to and concur therein. And

we do further will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant and ordain, that the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors, or the major part of them who shall be present at the first and second Meetings of the said Society, or at any Meeting on the second Wednesday in the months of January, May and November in each and every year, and at no other Meetings of the said Society, shall have power and authority to frame and make Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, touching and concerning the good government of the said Corporation, and the income and property thereof, and any other matter or thing which to them may seem fit and expedient, for the more effectual attainment of the objects of the said Corporation, and the administration of its concerns, and also, from time to time, by new Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, as to them may seem meet. Provided always, that the said Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, shall not be repugnant to the Laws of our said Province of Lower Canada or to this our Charter. And provided also, that the said Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, shall be subject to the approbation of our Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or person administering the Government of our said Province for the time being; and shall forthwith after their adoption be transmitted for consideration; and in case he shall for us, or in our behalf, signify his disapprobation thereof, in writing, within one year

after the same shall have been so as aforesaid made known to him, the same or such part thereof as shall be so disapproved, shall, from the time of the signification of such disapprobation to the President of the said Corporation, be utterly void and of no effect, but until such disapprobation be so signified, shall be and remain in full force and virtue. And we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, charge and command that the said Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, so as aforesaid to be made by the said Literary and Historical Society, under and subject to the provisions as aforesaid, shall be strictly observed, kept and performed, from time to time and at all times, as therein and thereby may be required, under the penalty therein contained: And we will and by these presents for us our heirs and successors, do grant and declare that these our Letters Patent, or the enrolment of the exemplification thereof, shall and may be good, firm and valid, sufficient, and effectual in law, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged upon, in the most favorable and beneficial sense, and to the best advantage of the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, as well in our Courts of Record as elsewhere, and by all and singular the Judges, Justices, Officers, Members and others the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, any mis-recital, non-recital, omission, imperfection, defect, cause,matter or thing whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

ANNO DUODECIMO.

VICTORIA REGINA.

CAP. CLII.

An Act to amend the Charter of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

25TH APRIL, 1849.

WHEREAS in the Royal Charter of His late Majesty, King William the Fourth, incorporating the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and bearing date the 5th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, a proviso is inserted in the following words: "Provided always, and our will and " pleasure is, that no act done at any Meeting of " the Society shall be valid and effectual, unless " the President or one of the Vice-Presidents and " eight Members of the said Society at least be " present, and the major part of them do consent " to and concur therein;" And whereas the *quorum* established by the said proviso hath been found to be inconveniently large, and the said Society have petitioned that the Charter be amended in this particular, and the said *quorum* reduced in the manner hereinafter provided: Be it therefore enacted, by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legis-

lative Council and of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and intituled: *An Act to re-unite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and for the Government of Canada*, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that for and notwithstanding anything in the said proviso, or in any other part of the Charter cited in the preamble to this Act, each and every act done at any meeting of the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, shall be valid and effectual, provided the President or one of the Vice-Presidents of the said Society, and at least two other members thereof be present at such meeting, and the majority of them do consent and concur therein, and not otherwise.

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC was founded January 6th 1824, by the influence and generous liberality of the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor General of British North America and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1831. A very complete account of the proceedings of the Society from its inception in 1823 to the year 1888 by Frederick C. Wurtele was published by the Society in its "Transactions" 1887-1889 Volume No. 19. Founded 1824.

The purposes of the Society were declared in a circular to the public of Quebec:—"To discover " and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the " records which yet remain of the earliest history " of Canada. To preserve while in our power, " such documents as may be found amid the dust " of yet unexplored depositories, and which may " prove important to general history and to the " particular history of this Province." The numerous historical records published by the Society prove that the purposes above set forth have always been the chief aim of each successive Council. Purposes.

In 1827 a similar Society, called the "Society for promoting Literature, Science, Arts, and Historical Researches in Canada" was formed chiefly by French-Canadian gentlemen; under the auspices Another Society in 1827.

of Sir James Kempt, the Governor General, who was Patron of both Societies, a union was brought about on June 4th 1829, and the name of the older Society was retained. The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC was incorporated by Act of Parliament, dated October 5th, 1831.

Unites with Lit. & Hist. Society in 1829.

The meetings at which papers were read, were, by invitation of the Governor General, held at the Castle St. Louis, and it is probable that the Society had rooms in the Old Chateau till they were required by His Excellency after the Castle was destroyed by fire January 23rd 1834; when by permission of the Government, apartments for the Library were granted in the Union Hotel, then used for Government Offices. This building at Place d'Armes Square is now occupied and owned by Mr. Morgan.

Occupy Castle St. Louis, burned 1834.

Occupied Union Hotel 1834.

Subsequently, by the same permission, more suitable rooms were obtained in the Parliament Buildings, to which the Library was moved.

Move to the Parliament Buildings.

Here the Society sustained its first calamity, when at 3 o'clock A.M., of February 1st 1854, the Parliament Buildings were destroyed by fire and the whole Museum was burnt; fortunately, almost all the valuable manuscripts relating to the history of Canada were saved, together with a large portion of the Library, but the Society's minute books and private records were lost. The residue was placed in rooms rented in Mr. George Henderson's house, St. Ursule and St. Lewis Streets.

Fire in 1854.

Removal to Henderson's.

The Government came to the Society's assistance with a grant of £250, which enabled the Library to make a fresh start. As these rooms were not very suitable they were vacated and the Society, in April 1858, removed the 2,500 volumes it possessed to the Union Hotel, and occupied them for one year; when, the Government requiring them, new quarters had to be found.

Again occupy Union Hotel 1858.

In June, 1859, the removal was made to the "Banque d'Epargne" building in St. John Street. The Society remained there until 1862, when more eligible rooms were found in the Masonic Hall, St. Lewis Street; but the removal was decided for them in an abrupt and disastrous manner, for, on October 25th 1862, the buildings were burned and out of 4,000 volumes only 700 were saved, along with the manuscripts, but the contents of the Museum were destroyed.

Bank Building burned 1862.

An agreement, dated November 1st 1862 was entered into with Morrin College, which occupied the Masonic Hall, and the remnants of the Society's belongings were gathered together and placed in rooms in that building.

Move to Masonic Hall 1862.

In 1864 a printed catalogue of the Library was issued and the number of volumes therein were 1,115.

In 1866 the Trustees of Morrin College purchased the old Jail, corner of St. Ann Street and Stanislas Hill. In June, 1868, the Society removed to the fine rooms they now occupy in Morrin College building.

Morrin College purchased 1866.

Four Libraries united.

Having related the vicissitudes of the Literary and Historical Society to this point, we will leave it for a space and take up the history of two of the absorbed Libraries:—The "Quebec Library" and The "Quebec Library Association";—there being no history available of "Society for promoting Literature, Science, Arts and Historical Researches in Canada" which was absorbed in 1829 by this Society.

On January 7th 1779, this advertisement appeared in the Quebec Gazette:

"Quebec Library" 1779.

"A subscription has been commenced for "establishing a publick library for the City and "District of Quebec. It has met with the appro-"bation of His Excellency the Governor General "and of the Bishop, and it is hoped that the "Institution, so particularly useful in this country, "will be generally encouraged. A list of those "who have already subscribed is lodged at the "Secretary's Office where those who chuse it, "may have an opportunity to add their names."

"The *Quebec Library*" was thus formed in 1779. Incorporated in 1845, and sold to the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC in 1866.

The "*Quebec Library Association*" was formed in 1843, amalgamated with the Quebec Library in 1845, and absorbed by the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC in 1865 together with the "*Quebec Library*".

On February 12th 1854, the Parliament Buildings were destroyed by fire and a good portion of the books of the Quebec Library Association were burnt. The remaining books were placed in rooms at 42 Ste. Anne street, and subsequently at 21 St. Famille street, which they occupied in 1864. The Association then moved to 13 St. John street, where the Library was carried on until 1866.

"Quebec Library Association" burned 1854.

In 1866, the "Quebec Library Association" sold its Library to the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC and on March 3rd 1868, the "Association" dissolved.

"Quebec Library Association" sells in 1866.

The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC had now absorbed three other Institutions of like aims, namely:

Three Institutions absorbed.

The "Society for promoting Literature, Science, Arts, and Historical Researches in Canada," formed in 1827 was united with the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC in the year 1829.

Amalgamation of 4 Societies.

The "*Quebec Library*" and the "*Quebec Library Association*", were purchased in 1866 by the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.

The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC published their first Essay, given on 31st May, 1824 by Chief Justice Sewell, the following being a copy of its first three pages.

This article which is too long to insert at length, can be found in Vol. 1, of "Transactions" published by the Society.

(*The Cover*)

AN ESSAY

ON

THE JURIDICAL HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

so far as it relates to the Law

OF THE

PROVINCE OF LOWER-CANADA

Read at a Special Meeting of THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, *the 31st day of May 1824.*

By the Honorable J. SEWELL, *Chief Justice of Lower-Canada.*

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE

GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE, G.C.B.

FOUNDER AND PATRON;

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONORABLE

SIR FRANCIS BURTON, G.C.H., PRESIDENT;

AND TO

THE MEMBERS OF THE QUEBEC LITERARY

AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

THE FOLLOWING ESSAY,

(*Published at their Request,*)

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT,

J. SEWELL.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

APPOINTED to address a Society, distinguished, in its origin, by the rank and character of its noble Founder, and, in the first stage of its progress, by the respectability and talents of its numerous Members; whose high and meritorious purpose is, to extend more amply the advantages of Science and Literature to a remote, but rising portion of the Great Empire to which we belong, and the beneficial effects of its disinterested labours to future times, I am anxious to devote the period, in which I hope to be honored with your attention, to a subject which corresponding with the views of your Institution, and involving matter interesting to Science, may, in some degree, be worthy of your notice.

Confining myself, therefore, to the more immediate object of the Society—Historical Research —I shall offer to your consideration an Essay upon the Juridical History of France, antecedent to the erection of the Sovereign Council of Quebec, in the year 1663; the Law, as it was then administered in France, in the Tribunals of the Vicomté of Paris, being, in fact, the Common Law of the division of Canada which we now inhabit (1).

AT A MEETING of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, holden at the Castle of Saint Lewis, in the city of Quebec, on Monday, the 31st day of May, 1824—It is ordered, that the best

(1) Edits et Ordonnances, vol. 1. p. 21.

thanks of the Society be given to the Honourable the Chief Justice, for the Address and Essay respecting the early civil and ecclesiastical juridical History of France, which he has this day read before the Society—and that he be requested to furnish a copy thereof for publication.

Certified,

WM. GREEN,
Secretary.

First Transactions in 1824.

Three volumes of Transactions were issued in the years 1829, 1831, and 1837 respectively. In 1838 the first part of the series of Historical Documents appeared, called "Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760". This manuscript was communicated to the Society by Colonel Christie, the author was supposed to have been M. de Vauclain, a naval officer in the French service in 1759. The following remarkable circumstances concerning a copy of it, is thus related by Francis Parkman, the Historian: "The remark-

1st Series Historical Documents in 1838.

Parkman's account.

" able anonymous work printed by the Historical " Society of Quebec under the title 'Mémoires " 'sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760', is " full of curious matter concerning Bigot and his " associates, which squares well with other evi- " dence. A manuscript which seems to be the " original draft of this valuable document was " preserved at the Bastille, and, with other papers, " was thrown into the street when that castle was " destroyed. They were gathered up, and after-

" wards bought by a Russian named Dubrowski, " who carried them to St. Petersburg. Lord " Dufferin, when Minister there, procured a copy " of the manuscript in question, which is now in " the keeping of Abbé H. Verreau at Montreal, " to whose kindness I owe the opportunity of " examining it. In substance it differs little from " the printed work, though the language and the " arrangement often vary from it. The author, " whoever he may have been, was deeply versed " in Canadian affairs of the time, and though often " caustic, is generally trust-worthy".

MSS. found 1759 when Bastille was destroyed.

It was reprinted by the Society in 1876.

2nd Series.

In 1840 the second part of this series was published called "Collection de mémoires et de " relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada, " d'après des manuscrits récemment obtenus des " archives et bureaux publics en France."

(Huit Mémoires reliés en 1 vol. in 8-vo) viz:—

Memoirs of Talon.

1. *Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada*, attribué à M. Talon, 7 p.
2. *Mémoire sur le Canada* (1736), attribué à M. Hocquart, 14 p.
3. *Considérations sur l'état présent du Canada* (1758), 29 p.
4. *Histoire du Canada* par M. l'abbé de Belmont, 36 p.
5. *Relation du siège de Québec* en 1759 par une religieuse de l'Hôpital Général de Québec, 24 p.

6. *Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la Campagne en Canada en 1759*, 8 p. Impartial Judgment.
7. *Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada*, 8 p.
8. *Histoire de l'eau de vie en Canada*, 29 p.

The first three memoires are from manuscripts obtained from the Archives of the Bureau de la Marine à Paris by Lord Durham in 1838 just before he left Europe to take charge of the Government of Canada and shortly after his arrival at Quebec presented them to the Society, along with two others leaving their publication to the discretion of the Council. Manuscript from Paris 1838.

The third part of the series, called "Voyages de découvertes au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542 par Jacques-Cartier, le Sieur de Roberval. Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, etc.—suivis de la description de Québec et de ses environs en 1608, et de divers extraits relativement au lieu de l'hivernement de Jacques Cartier en 1535-36, (avec gravures fac-similé) ré-imprimés sur d'anciennes relations, 130 p., 8-vo," was published in 1843. Champlain's voyages being copies of manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris, and from the Hackluyt collection of 1810, and the plans and maps were copied from a rare edition of Champlain's voyages published at Paris 1613. 3rd Series. Jacques Cartier. Roberval. Xaintonge. Champlain's Voyages.

The fourth volume of Transactions was published in 1855, followed in 1862 by the fifth. In 4th and 5th Transactions.

1863 the new series was commenced by part one, and continued to part 18 issued in 1886. At present the first three volumes are out of print and very rare. Three parts of the fourth volume are still in print, but the fourth part and appendix are unobtainable. The fifth volume and all of the new series are in print, except number five, of which not one copy remains.

4th part 1st Series.

The fourth part of first series Historical Documents was published in 1861, having been obtained by G. B. Faribault, Esq., from the Archives in the office of Marine in Paris in 1852 and presented to the Society; it is called *Mémoires du Sieur de Ramsay, Commandant à Québec au sujet de la reddition de cette ville, le 18 septembre 1759.*

Mémoires de Ramsay.

2nd series.

The second series was published in 1866 and 1867 in separate brochures, as follows:

Siege of Quebec 1759.

1. Extract from a manuscript journal relating to the siege of Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser.
2. Campaign of Louisbourg, 1750 to 1758.

Wolfe and Montcalm errors.

3. Dialogue in Hades, between Generals Wolfe and Montcalm, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty during the campaign of 1759.
4. The Campaign of 1760 in Canada.

Invasion Canada 1775.

5. The Invasion of Canada in 1775.
6. Journal of an Expedition up the River St. Lawrence in 1759.

The third series was published in 1871 in one volume and is composed of the following narratives:

3rd Series.

1. *Histoire de Montréal, 1640 à 1672.*
2. *Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre, tant les Anglais que les Iroquois, depuis l'année 1682.*
3. *Voyage d'Iberville. Journal du voyage fait par deux frégates du roi, La Badine et le Marin.* Commencé dans l'année 1698.
4. Journal of the Siege of Quebec, 1760, by General James Murray.

Siege of Quebec 1760.

5. *Journal des opérations de l'armée Américaine lors de l'invasion du Canada en 1775-1776*, par M. J. B. Badeau.

The fourth series was published in 1875, in one volume, consisting of the following manuscripts:

4th series.

1. A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759.
2. General orders in Wolfe's army during the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759.

Wolfe's General Orders 1759.

3. *Journal du siège de Québec en 1759*, par Jean Claude Panet.
4. Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American rebels, in autumn 1775 and winter 1776, attributed to Hugh Findlay.

5th series War of 1812.

The fifth series was published in 1877 and contains documents relating to the war of 1812.

The last manuscript printed to this date, is a detailed account of the vessels arriving at Quebec in the year 1793. It was extracted from the register of the Quebec Exchange and contributed for the publication in the Archives of the Literary and Historical Society by MacPherson LeMoyne, Seigneur of Crane Island, County of Montmagny.

Original Manuscripts.

Besides these published documents the Society possesses a number of manuscripts both original and copies; among which are a number of memoires letters, diaries, &c., ranging from 1758 to 1830, by the late James Thomson, Sr., a volunteer under General Wolfe, and afterwards overseer of Public Works.

Perrault L'Aîné's Correspondence, 1755 to 1772.

Histoire de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Québec et procès-verbaux, 1771.

Land Warrants 1764-1767.

Warrants of Lands, &c., 1764 to 1767.

Mémoire sur le Canada, 1760 to 1764.

Minutes of the Agricultural Society of Quebec, 1789.

Memoirs and Letters presented by J. M. LeMoine, Esq., in 1882, being manuscripts, letters, essays, &c., by J. C. Fisher, Esq., L.L.D., who was President of the Society in 1846, and presented by his daughter, Mrs. E. Burstall.

1 vol. Ship Registers, Quebec, 1779.

2 vols. miscellaneous notes, &c., &c., by J. Jamieson.

All these contain material for more historical documents, should the Society see fit to publish them.

The Library also contains many rare and valuable works such as Baron Masères collections. The original copies of the Moniteur de Paris, 1791 to 1803. Almost a complete set of the Quebec Gazette, 1764 to 1873. Also nearly a complete set of Quebec Mercury, 1805 to 1863. Le Canadien, 1806 to 1810. Berean, 1844 to 1849. Quebec Chronicle, 1848 to date. Rare Works.

Exchanges are made with the chief societies of Great Britain, India, New Zealand, Spain, Norway, and United States, whose transactions, proceedings and collections contain much valuable information, both historical, geographical, biographical, geological, and scientific. The Dominion Government sends regularly all the Blue Books and Sessional Papers, as also do the several Provincial Governments. The Society likewise has a complete set of the Canadian Geological survey report and maps. Also the Dominion Archives reports. And the valuable manuscripts following: Exchanges

Original manuscript of *Procédure Judiciaire*, 1665 to 1759. (6 vols.)

Original manuscript of *Matière de police et Voirie*, 1683 to 1756. (1 vol.)

Original manuscript of *Matière de police*, 1695 to 1755. (1 vol.)

Original Manuscripts.

Original manuscript of *Matière civile*, 1682 to 1746. (2 vols.)

Manuscript copy of *Cahier d'intendance*, 1647 to 1725. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy *Registres des insinuations des cahiers d'intendance.* (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy *Table des ordonnances*, &c., 1764 to 1775. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy from the Archives of Paris, 1631 to 1763. (17 vols.)

Manuscript copy from the Archives of London, 1613 to 1779. (6 vols.)

Manuscript copy of *Relations sur le Canada*, 1682 to 1712. (2 vols.)

Manuscript copy of *Voyages au Mississipi*, 1698 to 1699. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy of *Histoire de Montréal*, 1640 to 1672. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy of Sieges of Quebec, 1759 & 1776. (1 vol.)

Government appropriates Manuscripts. 1888.

Under authority of an Act intituled 49 and 50 Vict., sect. 3, par. 8 to 10, Cap. 98. passed in 1886 by the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, and the Statutes of the Province of Quebec 51 and 52 Vict., Cap. 1, page 12, Schedule B 58, these Volumes were taken over by the Provincial Secretary on the 19th of November 1888.

Of these there were 28 volumes of manuscript copy described in the catalogue of the Library of Parliament, dated 1858, and were at some time

deposited with the Society. See also Report of QUEBEC LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 11th January, 1854, page 6. On page 1448 of this Catalogue the following paragraphs occur:

Legislation passed.

"La Législature provinciale ayant sur requête de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec, voté une somme de £300 pour obtenir des documents historiques, M. Faribault fut, en 1845, député à Albany, où il s'entendit avec les autorités de l'Etat de New York pour faire transcrire une volumineuse collection de manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire du Canada, que le Col. Brodhead avait été chargé de se procurer en Europe. De cette manière il obtint 17 volumes de documents tirés des Archives de Paris, et six autres volumes de bureau colonial à Londres.

"La première série se compose des 17 volumes transcrits à Albany, et qui se trouvent déposés dans la bibliothèque de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec."

Catalogue.

These are described in detail in this Catalogue on pages 1451 to 1498 inclusive. On pages 1622 to 1644 inclusive, are found the details of the 6 volumes copied from the Archives in the Colonial office in London, and deposited in the Library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

At the foot of page 1448 is the following paragraph:

"Les quatre volumes de documents, mentionnés à la page 1616, et qui sont déposés dans la bibliothèque de la Société Littéraire et Histo-

rique de Québec, ont été transcrits à Paris par les soins de l'hon. L. J. Papineau." The following is the detail of these volumes mentioned on page 1613.

I. 1682-1712.—*Relation de ce qui s'est passé en Canada, au sujet de la guerre, tant les Anglais que les Iroquois, depuis l'année 1682.*

Remarkable] conditions.

II. 1695-1696.—*Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable en Canada, depuis le départ des vaisseaux en 1695, jusqu'au commencement de l'année 1696.*

III. 1698 et 1699.—*Journal d'un voyage fait au Mississippi en 1698 et 1699*, par MM. Iberville et de Surgères.

IV. 1640-1672.—*Histoire de Montréal, de 1640 à 1672*, par M. Dollier de Casson.

V. 1759-1776.—An account of the siege of Quebec, in 1759 and 1775-76, in 1 volume.

List of documents contained in this volume:

Fraser's Journal.

1. Manuscript Journals of the Military Operations before Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser, then a Lieutenant in the 78th Regiment, or Fraser's Highlanders.

1759.

2. *Journal précis de ce qui s'est passé au siège de Québec en 1759*, rédigé par M. Jean Claude Panet, ancien notaire de Québec.

3. *Le Témoin oculaire de la guerre des Bostonnais durant les années 1775 et 1776*, par M. Simon Sanguinet, avocat du barreau de Montréal.

4. *Journal contenant le récit de l'invasion du Canada par les Américains en 1775-76*, rédigé par M. Jean-Bte. Badeaux, ancien notaire de la ville des Trois-Rivières.

5. Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American Rebels, in the autumn of 1775 and winter of 1776, kept by Hugh Finlay, Postmaster General. Siege of Quebec.

6. *Journal tenu pendant le siège du fort St-Jean, en 1776*, par M. Antoine Foucher, ancien notaire de Montréal.

7. Letters from Colonel Henry Caldwell, to General Murray, dated 15th June, 1776, containing an account of the siege of Quebec by the Americans, during the winter of 1775-76. Caldwell's letters to Murray

All of the above five volumes have been published by our Society with the exception of Vol. II and parts 3 and 6 of Vol. V, which are believed to have been published in Montreal.

The foregoing gives an abbreviated history of the Society up to the year 1887; a more complete account to that date is published in Volume No. 19 of the Transactions of the Society—(1887-1889)

compiled by Fred C. Wurtele, Esq. The Minute Books of the Society prior to 1854 were burned in fire of February 1854.

The Library continued to increase;—the Catalogue issued in 1878, shows there were 8,974 volumes on the shelves, classification of which will be found in Transactions No. 19.

The estimated number of volumes in 1888 was about 15,000 and some 6,000 pamphlets.

Catalogue. The Catalogue published in 1878, together with Bulletins Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 published in 1900, 1904, 1906, 1921 and the Card Catalogue, indicate works of all sorts acquired by the Society up to the present date (1924).

Henceforward a synopsis of the proceedings of the Society from 1887 to the year 1924 is given, thus completing the Centenary of its existence, 1824-1924.

TRANSACTIONS 1887-89. Vol. 19 contains:—

The Annual Reports of Council etc.

The history of the Society to 1887 together with the following:

An article entitled "An Elementary Discussion of the "Nebular Hypothesis" by Wm A. Ashe, F.R.A.S.

"Champlain's Tomb" by Dr. J. M. Harper, M.A., F.E.I.S.

Documents discovered by Abbé Casgrain, dated 1649 and 1658.

Histoire Abrégée de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Québec. 1644-1771.

Notes sur le Château St. Louis (Incendié en 1834) et le Château Haldimand ou Vieux Château, Québec, prepared by Ernest Gagnon, 1875.

A classified Report of Works in the Library to 1887.

Quebec was supplied with electric power in 1885 developed at Montmorency Falls, about seven miles distant from the City. This being *the first long distance transmission of electric power in the world,* which was then supposed by experts to be impossible, owing to the great loss of electric current from wire of such a length. Quebec enterprise created a new interest in this amazing element which now reaches half across the world without wires.

TRANSACTIONS 1889-90. Vol. 20 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Steamship "Royal William"

An Article by Archibald Campbell, Esq. on the steamship "Royal William", named after H.M. King William IV, the keel of which was laid in Quebec on 2nd September, 1830, by George Black, launched from Campbell's Shipyard at Wolfe's Cove, April 29th, 1831. The engines of 200 H.P. being installed by Bennett and Henderson at Montreal.

3 trips to Halifax.

The "Royal William" made three trips in 1831 between Quebec and Halifax, which were most successful.

Steaming with port engine.

On her voyage to England The "Royal William" left Quebec 5th August, 1833, took on 300 tons of coal at Pictou, Nova Scotia, left Pictou on 18th August, arriving at London twenty-five days later including detention at Cowes, where boilers were cleaned. During an entire week of the voyage the vessel steamed under the larboard engine alone; Captain McDougall holding on his way, even after the engineer reported the vessel about to sink, when the starboard engine had become disabled. That the "Royal William" *steamed continuously during the entire voyage* has been established by reports from the Captain and Officers, as evidenced by the affidavits of Joseph Wilson Henry, Esq., and William H. Baldwin, Esq., before Messrs. Fiset, Burroughs, and Campbell, Notaries at Quebec.

Steamed continuously.

The Report of the Secretary of State of Canada to the Dominion Parliament for year ending 31st December 1894, contains a full and complete account of this epoch making steamer, showing how just are the claims made on her behalf and giving evidence which has assured her owners and builders the honours universally accorded to her as "the first steamer in the world to cross the Atlantic ocean continuously propelled by steam".

A Memorial Tablet—copy of which is on page 52—was placed in the corridor leading to the Library of Parliament at Ottawa during

the Colonial Conference of 1894, in the presence of His Excellency The Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada, together with the Colonial Delegates from British possessions in all quarters of the globe.

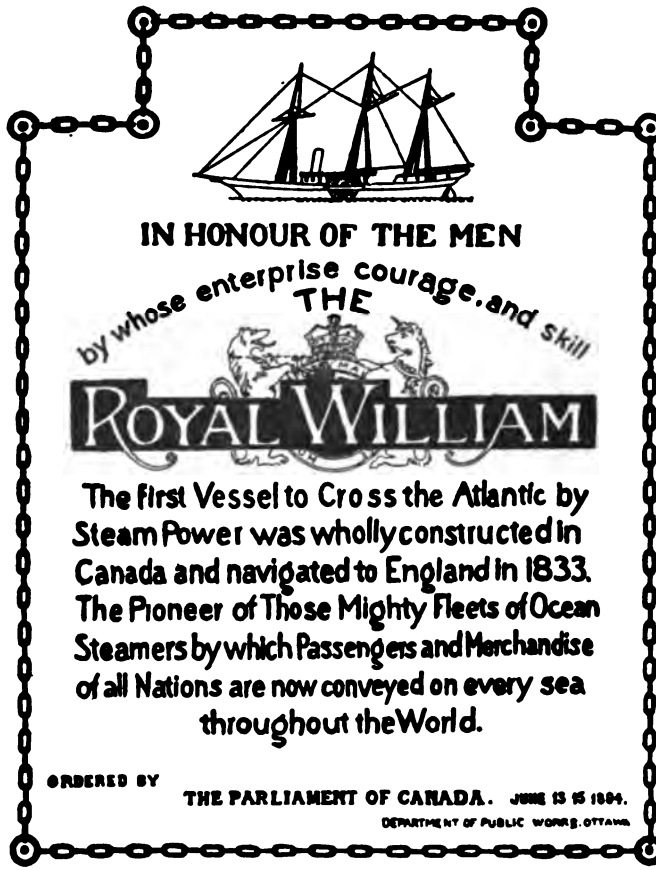
The Right Honourable the Earl of Jersey, P.C., G.C.M.G., representing the Government of Her Majesty; with Representatives of the Dominion of Canada; the Governments of New South Wales; Tasmania; South Australia; Victoria; Queensland; New Zealand; and The Cape of Good Hope, together with the Speakers of both Houses of the Dominion Parliament, the members of the Canadian Government, and members representing the Learned Societies of Canada and the public.

There were two gentlemen present who had been on board this steamer—Mr. G. W. Wickstead, Q.C., who had been a passenger on a voyage to Halifax, and his brother Major Horace A. Wicksteed who visited the "Royal William" on her arrival in the Thames after crossing the ocean.

"Royal William" and Model.

This Government Report also contains a splendid picture of the model of this vessel; the Charter of the Company and List of Subscribers to its shares; also a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council in which "the Minister recommends that he be authorized to convey to Captain F. C. Wurtele, Hon. Librarian of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, the thanks of the Government of Canada, for his services in preparing— free of charge—a

pamphlet in which evidence is collected establishing the fact that the "Royal William" was the



first vessel to cross the Atlantic propelled by steam". Much of this Report was obtained from Mr. Campbell's article here mentioned—as published in Transactions Vol. 20 by this Society.

Among the shareholders the name of three members of the Cunard family appear; this may

prove to have been the stimulus which eventually created the famous "Cunard Line" whose 20,000 ton steamer "Carmania" is this day (May 1st 1924) in Quebec loading on return trip to England, and whose Atlantic Liner the "Aquitania" logged sixteen knots in twenty-nine minutes on 19th November, 1923; this being at the rate of 33.1 knots per hour which is claimed as a record for a passenger steamer.

The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC is in possession of the "Record Book" of George Black, the builder of the "Royal William", giving details of measurements of all the various requirements with great minuteness: some of them entered as one quarter inch, one half inch, and three quarters of an inch as occasion demanded, showing the great care taken by Black in construction.

This Book is entirely in his own hand writing —giving measures of hulls, masts, spars, angles, pitch of masts &c., of the many schooners, ships, and steam boats built by Black from 1819 to 13th July, 1833.

On one page the following is written:—"December 3rd 1829—This Book contains the dimensions of twenty four ships—the whole of this number I laid down and built myself, and a great many of the above were very fast sailing vessels, which will be known, and can be proved, by referring to their names.

"On this book I have spent many a leisure hour".

(*Signed*) GEORGE BLACK

The Book also gives the measurements in full detail of the "Royal William", and it is interesting to note the careful provision Black made in the design, to throw off too heavy seas from the paddle-wheels, which were placed well forward, protected by a fullness given the hull, yet preserving good sailing lines.

James Goudie.

James Goudie was employed by Black in the building of many of his vessels.

On June 14th, 1854, Captain John McDougall of the steamship "Royal William" gave the Society five pamphlets relating to the "Royal Mail Steam Packet Company"; five copies of Inventories of Stores, Engines, &c. of the "Royal William", and a copy of a testimonial to himself:

On 4th October, 1854, Captain John McDougall presented this Society with an oil painting of the steamship "Royal William". Unfortunately this painting, and the papers given in June by Capt. McDougall are missing, doubtless having been lost in the fire of 1862.

Dr. Douglas Gift.

A painting of the "Royal William" was purchased in England by Dr. James Douglas, and

Camouflaged Vessel, 1916.

presented by him to the Society in 1908; it hangs in the principal room, directly under the original model of the vessel.

This original model was awarded a diploma at the Royal Naval Exhibition of Chelsea, England, held under Patronage of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and presided over by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) in 1892. This model has been returned and placed in the Reading Room of the Society. **Diploma.**

The Canadian Institute of Toronto established a Memorial Tablet in honour of the men associated with the building and sending to sea of the steamer "Royal William". **Tablet.**

An Article by Fred C. Wurtele, Esq. on the "Cathedral of the Holy Trinity", Quebec, originally called "The Metropolitan Church of Quebec" —the corner stone of which was laid on the 11th of August, 1800—under which a document was placed bearing the inscription: **English Cathedral.**

"*Glory to God in the Highest*"

The last stone being set on the 1st May 1804.

The building is erected on land formerly belonging to the Order of Recollets.

The Burial Register of the Duke of Richmond.

A Journal of Voyage of the "Brunswick- **The Brunswick**

Dragoons 1776.

Auxilliaries" in 1776, in two parts, by Chaplain Melsheimer; the first part was translated from the German, by Col. William Wood, who was then Hon. Secretary to the Council of the Society.

Index to Authors and Subjects 1829-1891.

Index to Lectures, Papers, and Historical Documents published by the Society and authors of same; also a List of the unpublished papers read before the Society—1829 to 1891—Compiled by Fred C. Wurtele, Esq.

Donations to Society.

Exchanges, List of Officers, &c.

TRANSACTIONS 1891. Vol. 21 contains:—

Annual Reports of Council, Librarian, &c.

Army Bills in 1812.

Article by James Stevenson, Esq., entitled "The Circulation of Army Bills, with some remarks on the War of 1812". This paper contains facsimiles of some of the paper currency dated 1813 and 1814.

French Card Money.

Mr. James Stevenson delivered in 1874 a lecture on the "Card Money of Canada during the French Domination".

And a lecture on "The Currency of Canada after the Capitulation", by same author in 1876.

Protest against light Literature.

A letter from J. M. LeMoine, then President, warning against permitting the Society to become merely a circulating Library of light literature.

TRANSACTIONS 1892. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Reference to the discontinuance of grant by the Provincial Government.

No Government Grant.

Reference to Diploma granted to this Society for Exhibit of Model of the steamship "Royal William" at the Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea, England.

Donations to Society, &c.

TRANSACTIONS 1893. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Dr. James Douglas acted as delegate of this Society in Spain where festivities were being held celebrating the anniversary of the discovery of the New World.

Dr. Douglas in Spain.

Hon. Mr. Joly de Lotbinière read a paper on: "The Most Rapid and Economical Way of Growing Forest Trees" and exhibited specimens of black walnut and other trees grown at Point Platon.

Rapid tree growing.

TRANSACTIONS 1894. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Formation of Endowment Fund,

Generous Members.

SUBSCRIBERS to Endowment Fund:—Messrs. Frank Ross, John T. Ross, E. J. Price, R. R. Dobell, G. R. Renfrew, J. H. Holt, Gus. Stuart, Q.C., T. H. Dunn, Arch. Campbell, Logie Dunn, John Hamilton, Theophilus Oliver.

Electric R.R.

In November, 1894, Mr. E. A. Evans, C.E., submitted an encouraging report to Mr. H. J. Beemer, regarding feasibility of operating a street railway by electricity in Quebec City.

The general opinion was very pessimistic regarding the successful operating of Electric Cars in Quebec, owing to the heavy snow fall in the narrow streets, abrupt curves and severe grades encountered passing from the "Lower Town" level to the Upper Town—almost 315 feet.—

Dalhousie St. (Fire Station, St. James St.) 19'.375
Grande Allée "St. Coeur de Marie Church" 334'.349

All of which obstacles have been successfully overcome.—Outsiders did not understand Canadian snow conditions, which falling during cold weather is fine and light—not wet-packing-snow which turns quickly into "slush"—but such as is easily swept away with the rotary brooms, or removed with the snow plows far from each side of the track—very different conditions from those contended with in places farther South, where the snow is a far more troublesome proposition, packing solidly when pushed upon by a "plow", rendering manual labor necessary for its removal.

Even yet, strangers do not realize the many virtues of our Canadian winter, and its snow, which falls in tiny crystals, each laying on the ground separate and distinct, and not packing as in a less cold climate—hence its charm for all who come to recognise the vast difference between the two conditions. Pleasant Snow Condition.

People have been surprised when told of the impossibility of making a "snow-ball" during the winter months, as the snow particles are too dry to adhere together, unless during a thaw, or from snow falling during the warm days of March.

TRANSACTIONS 1895. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

A special subscription was made by Members to pay off accumulated debt:—Messrs. V. Boswell, J. Douglas, W. Hossack, G. R. Renfrew, P. Johnston, C. Tessier, W. Wood, P. B. Casgrain, Jas. Geggie. Members help.

TRANSACTIONS 1896. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Lecture "The Vandals in Africa", Part I, by Mr. L. G. Holme.

Lecture "The Vandals in Africa", Part II, by Mr. L. G. Holme.

Lecture "Wit, Humour, and Scottish Humour" by Rev'd. Dr. Macrae.

Knighting of Sir James Lemoine. Sir James Lemoine.

TRANSACTIONS 1897. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Promotion of Endowment Fund.

New arrangements for publishing Society's Transactions and Historical Documents.

Lectures given before the Society:—

Lectures.

"The Literature of Germany" by Professor Gunn.

"Poetry and Life", by Rev'd. Fred George Scott.

"The Water we Drink", by Professor McIntyre.

"The Battlefield of Lutzen", by Professor Gunn.

Shakespeare's HENRY IV. Part 1 by the Dean of Quebec.

Published Papers

Printed Papers:—

Histoire de la Conquête du Canada. Manuscrit inédit.

"A Diary of the Weather". Kept by Americans in Quebec, 1776.

"The Journal of Sergeant James Thompson", 1758-1830.

"Brigadier General R. Montgomery's Sword", 1775.

"How Order of "Gateau" became instituted".

"The New Canadian Patriotism", by Leigh R. Gregor, B.A., Ph.D.

List of subscribers to Endowment Fund: Endowment Fund

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

John Theodore Ross,	Hon. E. J. PRICE,
His Grace Mgr. BEGIN,	F.R.S.C.
G. R. RENFREW,	J. H. HOLT,
T. H. DUNN,	G. G. STUART,
John BREAKEY,	James KING,
S. J. SHAW,	Hon. R. TURNER,
Jos. WHITEHEAD,	Wm. SHAW,
Jos. LOUIS,	Hon. P. GARNEAU,
Lady MEREDITH,	E. C. FRY,
Edson FITCH,	Jas. MACNIDER,
D. H. GEGGIE,	Rev. Dean NORMAN,
G. C. HOSSACK,	H. T. MACHIN,
L. C. WEBSTER,	J. C. MORE.

TRANSACTIONS 1898. Vol. 23 contains:—

Annual Reports of Council, Librarian, and Treasurer for 1897.

Lectures given before the Society:— Lectures

"George Eliot", by Professor Sharp.

"The New Canadian Patriotism", by Professor Gregor.

La Fusion des Races, by Prof. de Kastner.

Wolfe's Statue.

The Society was presented with the Ancient Statue of General Wolfe by C. F. Sise, Esq.

TRANSACTIONS 1899. Vol. 23 contains:—

Annual Report of Council and Librarian.

Legacy and Donations.

Legacy of $500 from Mrs. Geo. Renfrew.

Dr. James Douglas promises to add $500 to the $500 already donated.

Archibald Campbell donates $100.

Life Members.

New Life Members.—Hon. John Sharples and Felix Carbray.

Government promises Allowance.

Hon. D. A. Ross, Attorney General, states in writing, that it was by inadvertence that nothing was granted the Society by the Government, and that the error will be remedied next session.

Lectures given before the Society:—

"Abelard and the Rise of the Universities", by Dr. Macrae.

"Joan of Arc", by Professor Gunn.

Preserve "Plains."

Appeal by the Society to preserve the Plains of Abraham as Historic Grounds.

A Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier that Historic Grounds be preserved to the public.

The following papers appear:—

Published Papers.

Military Operations at Siege of Quebec, September, 1759, by Sir J. M. LeMoine.

Battle on Plains of Abraham, 13th September, 1759 (in French) by P. B. Casgrain, Esq., with map showing Eastern part of Plains. Won by Wolfe.

Portrait of Wolfe.

Portrait of Montcalm.

Cuts showing where Wolfe and his soldiers climbed the cliff to the Plains.

Print of Wolfe's Monument.

Print of Montcalm's Monument.

Second Battle on Plains of Abraham, 28th April 1760. (in French) by P. B. Casgrain, Esq., with map showing Western part of Plains with positions occupied by French and English forces. Won by de Lévis.

Portrait of General Murray.

Portrait of le Maréchal de Lévis.

Print of Monument Sainte Foye.

Letters from various sources advocating preserving the "Plains" as National Park.

Sir John William Dawson, Kt., C.M.G., F.R.S. F.R.S.C., late Principal of McGill University, **Montreal, and the first President of the Royal Society of Canada, died on 18th November 1899.**

TRANSACTIONS 1900. Vol. 24 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Leading part taken by Society to preserve the Plains of Abraham as a public possession.

Plains purchased $80,000

A portion of the Plains of Abraham was purchased from Ladies of the Ursulines Convent for $80,000. Area 84 arpents, 11 perches (French measure).

Papers published.

Paper by Geo. D. O'Farrell—"Lighthouses of the Province".

Paper by J. G. Scott—"Proposed Trans-Canada Railway", with map, 13th January, 1903.

Notes on "James Bay Territory" by Henry O'Sullivan, F.G.S.L.

Paper on "The Forests of Canada" by Henry Stewart.

Lectures.

Lectures given before the Society:—

"Tennyson—Poet and Teacher" by Professor Sidley.

"Rambles and Student Life in Germany" by Professor Gunn.

"A Prophet of Imperialism, Sir John Seely" by Dr. I. P. Whitney.

Gifts.

Cash Donations were received from:—Wm. Price, Esq., Archibald Campbell, Esq., Dr. James Douglas.

Historic Tablets.

March 19th, the Society appoints Committee to place Historic Tablets.

Resolution of condolence on death of the Earl of "Dufferin and Ava", and reference was made to the fact that had it not been for the death of his eldest son, whose title Lord Dufferin felt it incumbent to assume, he would have chosen "Dufferin and Quebec" as his title, instead of "Dufferin and Ava". Lord Dufferin

TRANSACTIONS 1903. Vol. 25 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Legacy of $5,000 received from the late Mrs. J. F. Turnbull.

Donation of $500 received from Dr. James Douglas. Gifts.

Donation of $500 received from Mr. Frank Ross.

Inscriptions for Historical Tablets composed by Col. William Wood, then President of the Society, were submitted. Inscriptions on Tablets.

Report of Historical Tablets Committee, was received.

Paper by Dr. James Douglas, L.L.D., Hon. President, was read:—

"Education in Quebec in the 17th Century" with pictures of the Jesuit College, built 1647-1666. Since used as Barracks. Demolished in 1877. City Hall built on site in 1895. Old Quebec.

5

Organization of Seminary, with wood cut, also view of Laval University. (Modern) Letter of Bishop Laval creating Quebec Seminary, and Edict of King Louis confirming the same.

Early Meeting Hours!

Attention was drawn to an Article in the Charter fixing the hours for meetings as 8 to 12 o'clock in the forenoon and that the approval of the Lieut. Governor as requisite to change the same in conformity with the Charter.

TRANSACTIONS 1904. Vol. 26 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

TRANSACTIONS 1905. Vol. 26 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Erection of Historic Tablets, and photographs of same.

7th series.

The seventh series of Historical Documents contains material relating to events in 1775, being verbatim reprints in a volume prepared by F. C. Wurtele, entitled: "The Blockade of Quebec in 1775-76, by the American Revolutionists" (Les Bostonnais). The contents comprise: 1. Journal of Thomas Ainslie; 2. The Journal of an Unknown Diarist; 3. The Orderly Book of the British Militia at Quebec, 1775-6; and 4. The Nominal Roll of the French Canadian Militia serving at Quebec during the siege.

Blockade of Quebec.

Suggestion was made by the Literary and Historical Society that "The Canadian Landmarks Association" be formed. Canadian Landmarks.

Paper was read by Colonel Hubert Neilson entitled: "Slavery in Old Canada—Before and After the Conquest".

Earl Grey was elected Patron, and Lord Minto elected Honorary Member.

TRANSACTIONS 1906-07. Vol. 27 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

The President, P. B. Casgrain, read Monograph before the Royal Society—sur *Samos et la tentative manquée de Bourgainville pour prêter main-forte à Montcalm à la journée du septembre, 1759.*

A Reminder regarding the objects of the Society, as defined in its Charter, was brought before the members. Historic and Scientific objects.

Thanks were conveyed to the Governors of Morrin College for their continued generosity; also to the Provincial Government for $200 given to aid in the publication of Original Documents of 1775-6. Thanks!

Paper read by Dr. J. M. Harper "Between the Times of War, 1759-1812".

Paper read by Rev. Wylie C. Clark, B.A., B.D., entitled "The Early Presbyterianism of Quebec under Dr. Spark". Papers Read.

Lieutenant Governor Jetté was elected Honorary Member.

8th series.

Publication of eighth series of Historical Documents (1906). This volume is a continuation of subject contained in seventh series; and a Bibliography of the Invasion of Canada, 1775-76.

TRANSACTIONS 1908. Vol. 28 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Dr. Douglas again donates.

This year's report is highly satisfactory in a financial way owing to the beneficence of Dr. James Douglas, who has given, apart from minor contributions, a sum of $500, annually for years past to be expended in the purchase of certain classes of books, and the publication of Historical Documents. Dr. Douglas has now commuted this annual contribution and conveyed to the Society, the sum of ten thousand dollars, in Trust, appointing as Trustees John Theodore Ross, Esq., and A. H. Cook, Esq., K.C., with full power to invest said fund, paying the dividends to the Society.

Mrs. Turnbull's Gift.

The generous legacy of $5,000 from the late Mrs. Turnbull in 1904 brought our funds to $8,000, so now the Society has an Endowment Fund of $18,000.

Père Marquette's Prayer Book.

A Fac-simile of the Prayer Book of the celebrated Missionary Père Marquette, translated into the Indian language, has been reproduced

and bound, and 250 copies presented to the Society by Dr. Douglas for distribution to Exchanges, Learned Societies, and prominent personages; the total issue being limited to 300 copies.

Dr. Douglas and Colonel Neilson represented this Society at a Meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, D.C.

Douglas and Neilson at Washington.

TRANSACTIONS 1909. Vol. 28 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

A reception was tendered the International Council of Women, of whom one hundred passed through Quebec from the British Isles, Europe, and Australia, to attend the quadrennial meeting in Toronto. Our President was invited and attended the meeting.

International Council of Women.

Copies of the Fac-simile Prayer Book of Père Marquette, presented last year to the Society by Dr. Douglas, were distributed to Universities, distinguished individuals, and to learned Societies from which we have received exchanges.

A catalogue is being made of the Library of the late Judge Aylwin, which he presented to Morrin College.

Aylwin Library.

Portraits of some Past Presidents were placed on the walls.

A paper was read by Captain J. G. Boulton, R.N., (retired) on Admiral Henry Wolsey Bayfield

Admiral Bayfield. 1817-1867.

(with portrait). This article is of great interest, and published to preserve some records of the important work done for the Empire, and Canada in particular, by this most distinguished Hydrographic Surveyor, who has charted the coasts of the Great Lakes, the North and South Shores of the St. Lawrence, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Anticosti, Newfoundland, &c., and given soundings of their waters. Bayfield was appointed Admiralty Surveyor, June 17th 1817, and continued this work up to the 18th October, 1867, when he retired with the rank of full Admiral. He died in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, February 10th 1885, aged 90 years and 3 weeks. Bayfield made the Quebec Citadel his secondary meridian for longitude, keeping his chronometers rated for the local time.

Low water in Lake St. Peter.

Commander Bayfield states that on 21st September, 1834, on his way down from Montreal in the "Gulnare", "there is only ten feet of water over the flats of Lake St. Peter," and on 20th September, 1846, states: "Ran over the flats of Lake St. Peter in 8 feet of water".

On March 2nd 1830, Bayfield presented the Literary and Historical Society, of which he was a charter member, with geological specimens from below Quebec and from Anticosti.

Coral animals in St. Lawrence.

During the winter of 1830 he read a paper before the Society on "The coral animals in the Gulf of St. Lawrence".

On 1st February 1832, he notes "The First Anniversary Dinner of the Literary and Historical Society" was given to-day at which Lord Aylmer presided". 1st dinner Lit. & Hist. Society.

In February 1835 he supplied this Society with a trace copy of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the Saguenay River; also latitude of Montreal and Three Rivers; these to make a base, for map of routes for exploring parties going north of the St. Lawrence; adding: "This map is for The Literary and Historical Society".

We now have the hydrographic history of the St. Lawrence from Jacques Cartier, followed by Champlain, Cook, Bayfield and the Admiralty publication called the "St-Lawrence Pilot", which describes the work done year by year; this year (1924) The Dominion Scientific Research Bureau have decided to send Professor Boyle to undertake scientific nautical Research work in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, north of Anticosti Island, Belle Isle Straits, and the Labrador Coast.

An Article by Dr. James Douglas, L.L.D., Hon. President of this Society, entitled: "The Steamship "Unicorn", on the St. Lawrence Branch of the Cunard Company in 1840, and some Memoranda on "Early Trans-Atlantic Steamship Ser- Dr. Douglas S/S "Unicorn."

Walter Douglas Captain.

vice", by Captain Walter Douglas—Commander of the "Unicorn"—who was father-in-law of Dr. James Douglas, who communicated this interesting subject. Captain Walter Douglas acquired his intimate knowledge of the Lower St. Lawrence as sailing Master to Captain Bayfield, in His Majesty's Surveying Ship "Gulnare". Owing to his acquaintance with the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, he was selected by Mr. Samuel Cunard to command the "Unicorn" which preceded the "Britannia", the first regular trans-Atlantic Liner of the Cunard fleet; also containing:—

S/Sailings.

A list of sailings of steamers to and from New York, 1838-39, and recording the time taken on voyages. The best time attained was 13 days 3 hours, by the S.S. "Great Western", Bristol to New York; and 12 days, 10 hours, by the S.S. "Liverpool", from New York to Liverpool.

TRANSACTIONS 1910. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Douglas Lectures.

Lectures delivered:—(Under the joint auspices of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College).

"The Outlook for Imperial Unity" by Prof. S. B. Leacock.

"Two Centuries of Parliamentary Life" by Prof. J. L. Morrison.

"Socialism" by Prof. S. B. Leacock.

"Abraham Lincoln" by Prof. Dyde.

Portraits of several ex-Presidents have been added to the walls of the Society, and it is proposed to secure, as far as possible, the portraits of all past Presidents. **Portraits.**

The large and valuable collection of books forming the "Aylwin Library" has been catalogued by F. C. Wurtele, Esq. **Aylwin Library Catalogued.**

Resolution congratulating the Rev. A. T. Love B.A. on the Honorary Degree of D.D., about to be conferred on him by Queen's University Kingston, Ont.

Reception proposed to entertain Sir Archibald Douglas, retired Admiral of the British Fleet, and his cousin Dr. James Douglas, our highly esteemed Honorary President. **Admiral Douglas.**

Illuminated Address of Condolence forwarded to H.M. King George V on the death of H.M. King Edward VII—A photograph of same remains with the Society. **Death King Edward VII.**

TRANSACTIONS 1911. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Lectures delivered: (Under the joint auspices of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College). **Douglas Lectures.**

"Canada a Nation" by Prof. S. B. Leacock.

"Mark Twain, the Tramp, the Wag, and the Sage" by Professor R. E. Welsh, M.A.

"Art and its Relation to Modern Life" by R. J. Wickenden.

"The Burden of Peace and Alternatives" by F. M. Hibbard, K.C.

Portraits.

The following portraits of ex-Presidents have been added to our collection:—John Langton, M.A Hon. D. A. Ross, E. A. Meredith, M.A., Daniel Wilkie, M.A., Hon. A. W. Cochrane, and James Stevenson, Esq.

Earl Grey.

Departure from Canada of the late Governor-General of Canada, Earl Grey, who had always taken a keen interest in this Society during his term of office.

Earl Grey Terrace.

Earl Grey was also active in suggesting the embellishment of "The National Battle Fields Park", evidence of which endures in the "Outlook", overlooking the St. Lawrence River and appropriately named "Earl Grey Terrace"; together with a bronze tablet stating that he suggested this position.

Gifts.

A large number of books were presented to the Society both by Mrs. Andrew Thomson and Captain J. A. Benyon.

Marquis of Granby.

A Print Portrait of John Manners, Marquis of Granby was donated by Mr. P. E. Poulin.

Decided to publish "The Animal Sanctuaries in Labrador" by Colonel William Wood. Animal Sanctuaries.

TRANSACTIONS 1912. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Feeling allusion was made to the loss sustained by deaths of:—Sir James Macpherson LeMoine, George M. Fairchild, S. S. Bennett, Stuart H. Dunn, and Major Morgan. Obituary.

A Volume entitled *Les Fêtes du troisième Centenaire de Québec*—from Mr. G. H. Vandry, President of Committee that published same. 3rd Centenary.

An Illuminated Resolution of Condolence was presented by Members of the Council to the family of the late Sir James Macpherson LeMoine at Spencer Grange. Sir James Lemoine.

A Committee composed of Colonel Wood, Colonel Lindsay, and Mr. John Hamilton were named, to undertake An Album to form an Architectural Record of Quebec's historic objects. Architectural record of Historic Objects.

Photograph was received from Ottawa of the Model of Quebec City in 1800 as restored by the Rev. Father O'Leary. Model Quebec City.

A Monument to the eminent French Canadian Historian, F. X. Garneau, was unveiled on the 19th of October 1912.

1912—"The First French Language Congress"

held at Quebec on 24th June, 1912 sent the following cablegram to His Majesty the King:

French Language Congress.

"Assembled at Quebec the members of the First Congress of the French Language in Canada are happy to offer to His Majesty the homage of their respectful attachment to his person and of the undying loyalty which every subject of the French Language in Canada guarantees toward the British Crown."

The Congress also passed the following Resolution:

"The French Canadians are simply men who guard their rights and who say with pride "What we have we'll hold"—French Canadians were at home in Canada wherever the British Flag carries in its folds our sacred rights and the traces of our blood. We swear it faith and fidelity, but we demand in return the protection of our liberties."

TRANSACTIONS 1913. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Douglas Lectures.

Lectures delivered:—(Under the joint auspices of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College).

"The Panama Canal" by Lt. Col. Greville Harston.

"Quebec A Century Ago", including a description of the Duberger relief plan of the City in 1800, by Rev. Father O'Leary.

The ninth series of Historical Documents are now passing through the press. 9th Series.

Major de Lotbinière Panet presented the Society the writing desk used by the late Sir George E. Cartier. Cartier's Desk.

Feeling regret was expressed at the deaths of the following Members:—Messrs, E. E. Code; R. Harcourt Smith; H. M. Price; Col. J. Bell Forsyth; and Frank Holloway. Obituary.

Edward Joseph Roy, L.B., Lit. Dr., F.R.S.C. Historian, Joint Archivist of Canada, ex-President Royal Society, died on 8th of May 1913.

TRANSACTIONS 1914. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Reference made to three prominent members of the Society having gone to the seat of war with the 1st Canadian Contingent: The Rev. Canon F. G. Scott, Rev. Father O'Leary, (both Chaplains) and Lt. Col. David Watson, D.C.L. C.E.F.

The Society sent a number of books to Valcartier for this Contingent during mobilization for distribution by the Y.M.C.A.

Feeling reference made to the deaths of:— Right Rev. Bishop Dunn,—Bishop of Quebec, Hon. Peter S. G. Mackenzie, and William A. Marsh. Obituary.

The Society received a copy of "All Afloat" from the author, Colonel William Wood.

TRANSACTIONS 1915. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Dr. Douglas gifts $15,000.

Dr. James Douglas, the Hon. President of this Society, has conveyed the sum of ten thousand dollars in Trust; and during the year of which this is a report, Dr. Douglas has bestowed on the Society, a further gift of five thousand dollars, the interest of which is to be spent on the purchase of books of the higher grade of Literature, History, Geography, and Science. The Trustees being John Theodore Ross, Esq., and A. H. Cook, Esq., K.C., both being Governors of Morrin College. A special deed being drawn for the administration of this second gift from one of the best friends the Society has ever had.

Trustees.

Deeds before Notaries.

For References:—The Deed of Trust donating $10,000 dated 5th May 1908, drawn by W. Noble Campbell—Notary; The Deed donating $5,000, drawn by Cyrille Tessier—Notary, 2nd Feb. 1916.

9th Series.

The ninth series of Historical Documents contains:—

"Lady Durham's Journal".

Publications.

Mémoires de M. le Chevalier de Johnstone.

The Chevalier de Johnstone was A.D.C., to Sir George Murray, Commander in Chief under Charles Edward in the war by him to recover the throne of his ancestors—1745.

Feeling reference was made to the deaths of the following Members of the Council:—James Geggie, one of the most efficient of Treasurers. Obituary.

Philéas Gagnon, who as a Bibliographer was of much benefit in the Council deliberations of this Society.

Resolution of Condolence sent to Madame Gagnon—also to the families of Associate Members who passed away during the year:—Messrs. Alexander Macadams, John H. Holt, J. J. Dunlop, W. W. Johnston.

TRANSACTIONS 1916. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Report of Council, Librarian, &c.

The Book Committee was empowered to give suitable books to invalided soldiers at the Khaki and Overseas Clubs, and at the Discharge Depot. Books distributed.

The accomodation and room space of the Society has been increased through the courtesy of the Governors' of Morrin College, who have also placed the "Aylwin Library under the supervision of this Society for the benefit of its members. Thanks!

Inauguration of the Douglas Course of Lectures, is recorded. Douglas Lectures.

The first lecture given being entitled: "Reptiles of the Past" by Professor J. Austin Bancroft.

Sincere sympathy is extended to the families of members who passed beyond during the year:—Colonel Irvine, Col. Arch. Hay, (Killed in France) Herbert O'Meara, A. Sturton, & [illegible] Winfield.

Members at the Front.

The members who have gone to the front—or in training to go there:—

Lieut.-Colonel R. E. W. Turner, V.C.
Lieut.-Colonel David Watson, D.C.L.
Rev. Father O'Leary,
Rev. Canon F. G. Scott, D.C.L.
Sir Wm. Price,
Major George Gibsone,
Lieut. O. Learmonth,
Herbert McGreevy,
George Nichol.

Casgrain.

A congratulatory address was presented to P. B. Casgrain, Esq., K.C., one of our ex-Presidents, on completing his ninetieth year.

Donations of books and pamphlets embracing amongst others:

"The Crusades of 1838" and "Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada" from Professor Wrong.

"Critical period, 1764-65", Illinois Historical Collections X, from P. B. Casgrain, Esq.

Gifts.

"New Régime, 1765-67", Illinois Historical Collections, XI, from P. B. Casgrain, Esq.

Armory and Lineages of Canada, 1915, from Herbert George Todd.

The Bryce Report, from the Dominion Government.

L'Enseignement Secondaire au Canada, from Laval University.

A list of Books purchased with Dr. Douglas' Special Grant in 1916.

Insidious Peace Propaganda Publication, entitled "War and Peace" refused admittance to Library. Seditious reading.

TRANSACTIONS 1917. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Report of Council, Librarian, &c.

Resolution recording deep regret at the death of P. B. Casgrain, Esq., K.C., aged 90 years—who was a member of this Society for upwards of sixty years and one of its Past Presidents—as a tribute to his interest in the Society and its objects, especially matters relating to the history of Canada. Also recalling his active co-operation in the efforts made for preservation of The Plains of Abraham, as a National Memorial to the most far-reaching event of all Canadian History. Sympathy Casgrain's death.

The Council expressed deep sympathy to his family in their bereavement.

The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada invite Representatives of this Society, to attend Annual Meeting at Ottawa. Landmarks.

1918

Annual Reports, &c.

Military Relics.

Donation of old Military Relics and inventory of same, from family of the late H. M. Price, Esq., was thankfully acknowledged.

Dr. Harper read the Report he had submitted to the Royal Society at Ottawa.

Deed of Trust.

Regulation of Publication Funds—according to Deed of Trust. Dr. Douglas' Donation.

Classification.

Resolved that the proceeds of the Douglas Endowments of $15,000 be divided into thirds to form three classes—namely:—1st. The General Book Fund. 2nd. The Douglas Book Fund. 3rd. Publication Fund as defined in the original Deed.

Resolution affecting disposition of said Endowment Fund.

Colonel Neilson states that Mr. James Douglas had expressed a desire to become a member of this Society.

James and Walter Douglas.

The Council unanimously decided that both Mr. James Douglas and Mr. Walter Douglas, sons of our generous deceased Honorary President Dr. James Douglas, be elected Honorary Members of this Society.

1919

Annual Reports, &c.

Fred. Lampson.

Resolution of regret at death of Major Fre-

derick Lampson, a valued member of the Council for many years.

The publication—"New York Nation" being found very anti-British and pro-German during the War, and still antagonistic to everything connected with the British Empire, was ordered discontinued. **Pro-German news condemned.**

Letter from "Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada" asking assistance of this Society regarding sites having historic interest from a National standpoint. **Historic Sites.**

Resolution of Condolence on tragic accident causing the death of our former President, Dr. J. M. Harper, M.A., F.E.I.S. **Condolence on death of Dr. Harper.**

The thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. McLennan and Mr. Emmanuel for Books donated. **Gifts.**

Portrait of Dr. James Douglas received from Mrs. Douglas and placed in a prominent position in the Library, and the thanks of the Society for same were sent to Mrs. Douglas. **Dr. Douglas Portrait.**

Thanks of the Society are tendered to Mrs. Harper for the portrait of the late ex-President, Dr. J. M. Harper. **Dr. Harper's Portrait.**

The thanks of the Society were tendered to Sir David Watson, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.C.L., Legion of Honour, for the valuable souvenirs he brought from the War and presented to the Society—The **Watson's Gifts.**

Vimy Ridge.

large profile Plaster Cast of "Vimy Ridge", being the original Model used in planning attack by Canadian 4th Division, is especially valuable.

1920—References

Annual Reports, &c.

Civic Advancement.

Mr. E. T. D. Chambers was authorized to represent this Society at the Committee on Study of Civic Advancement.

Welcome extended.

The Council deemed it a fitting occasion to extend a welcome to Lieut.-General Sir Richard Turner, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, and to Major-General Sir David Watson, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.C.L., Legion of Honour, Lieut-Col. (Rev.) Canon Scott, Lieut-Col. (Rev. Father) O'Leary, Major H. McGreevy, and Capt. Percy Turcotte, Members of the Society, who together with their brother Canadians at the front, contributed their famous part towards winning the Great War.

Dues increased.

At the General Meeting held on this date it was moved, duly seconded and carried that the motion be put to the General Meeting in January next that the Annual Dues for Associate Members be increased from four dollars to five dollars—this motion is made to accord with the provisions of the Charter.

Gift.

Mr. J. F. Dumontier presented a valuable book entitled: *Directions de la Navigation pour l'île de Terre-Neuve et la Côte du Labrador.*

1921

Annual Reports, &c.

Notice of motion "to increase Annual Subscription to $5.00" was read at Annual Meeting. Motion.

Lectures delivered:—(Under the joint auspices of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College). Douglas Lectures.

"Ancient and Modern Conception of the Universe" by Dean Adams.

"The Earl of Dalhousie" by Colonel Fraser.

The President suggested that efforts be made to complete our collection of portraits of Past Presidents, there being about ten still to be obtained.

The President was requested to represent this Society at the Annual meeting of the Royal Society in Ottawa. Royal Society.

Old prints of old Montreal Buildings from Mrs. Learmonth were thankfully accepted. Old Prints.

Resignation of Lt. Col., the Rev. Father O'Leary from the Presidency of this Society owing to ill health, was regretfully accepted. Resignation.

1922

Annual Reports, &c.

Resolution of Condolence was sent to the family of our late Treasurer, Mr. J. M. Johnston. Condolence.

Mr. S. S. Oliver agreed to act as Treasurer-pro-tem.

Mr. F. O. Judge appointed Hon. Treasurer.

Permission granted.

Permission granted to Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, Archivist of the Province of Quebec, to examine, quote, and photograph the archives of this Society for use in the Index to all the Archives relating to this Province.

Landmarks.

A communication was read from "The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada" desiring this Society to express its views regarding its broadening its activities, and change of title, to "The Historical Association of Canada".

Alter By-Laws.

Application was made to the Lieut. Governor requesting his approval to alteration in By-Laws (as required by our Charter) changing Annual Subscription from four dollars to five dollars for Associate Members.

Index

It was decided to publish as a "Transaction" An Archival Index to the original documents of Archival Importance, prepared by Col. William Wood.

Condolence.

The Meeting passed a Resolution of Condolence, and the Secretary was requested to convey to Colonel Wood the sympathy of the Society in his recent great loss in the death of his mother —Mrs. Irvine.

The following Resolution was passed at a Special Meeting held on the 26th July, 1922:—

Moved by Dr. Love, John Theodore Ross, Esq., and A. H. Cook, Esq., K.C. Seconded by D. D. O'Meara, Esq., President, Col. Neilson, and Col. Wood "That the Society desires to express its warmest sympathy with the family of the late Mrs. James Douglas in their recent bereavement, which also calls to remembrance the great loss the Society sustained in the passing away of the late Dr. Douglas". Condolence.

A copy of the above Resolution was sent to Mr. Walter Douglas, New York, on 2nd August, 1922.

It was moved, seconded, and adopted that the Annual Subscription of Associate Members be raised from four dollars to five dollars.

A book, tabulating additions to Library, and other data, was published—compiled by Col. Wm. Wood.

1923

Annual Reports, &c.

Photographs of the painting of steam-ship "Royal William" and of the Model of said steam-ship were sent by this Society as a gift to the Royal United Service Institution, London England. Photo of "Royal William".

The Rev. W. H. Stevens is appointed Hon. Treasurer, to replace Mr. F. O. Judge, resigned. Rev'd Stevens Treasurer.

St. Jean-Baptiste Society.

Invitation to have Society represented at a Mass to be celebrated by the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Limoilou was accepted: Mr. Cyrille Tessier agreed to represent the Society.

Closing Hours.

Decided that the Library shall be closed between the hours of six and eight P.M. during the months of June, July, and August.

Ladies.

Decided that Ladies shall pay the full subscription fee after being duly elected.

Gift.

Gift from Mr. George Gale of Picture Photographs of the Plans of the old City Gates, was thankfully received.

Royal Society. invite.

An invitation to send Delegate to Annual Meeting of the Royal Society of Canada at Ottawa was received, and it was Resolved that Mr. J. C. Sutherland be appointed to represent this Society at Ottawa at this year's Annual Meeting.

Mr. Sutherland represents.

Mr. Sutherland, who represented this Society at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, stated that he had submitted our Report, and gave a short account of what had transpired at the Meeting.

Parkman Centennial.

An invitation was read from the Parkman Centennial Committee: Col. Wood suggested that Mr. Sutherland might attend the Meeting; which suggestion was approved.

Books to Labrador.

Mr. Veasey reported that one hundred books had been chosen and were ready to be sent

to the Labrador Coast with the Compliments of the Society.

Index to the Archival Publications of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, 1824-1924, by Col. Wm. Wood, has been received. This work is most carefully compiled, embracing Historical Documents, Transactions, &c., &c., to correspond exactly with the Card Index of the Quebec Provincial Archives—Each entry is made complete in itself with references to subjects and to persons. A list of Documents now belonging to this Society is also appended. Profuse Index.

The Society has received 1st and 2nd Volumes of Commemorative Monuments of the Province of Quebec compiled by the Provincial Archivist—Mons. Pierre-Georges Roy. Monuments.

1924

The Annual Meeting of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC was held in their rooms at Morrin College on the 9th of January. In the absence of the President, the Chair was taken by the Rev. Dr. Love, B.A., D.D. Vice-President; the members present included Messrs. Cyrille Tessier, John Theodore Ross, William Clint, J. C. Sutherland, Frank Glass, A. Robertson, Godfrey Rhodes, Judge Gibsone, Col. Wm, Wood, Rev. W. H. Stevens, Dr. George Ahern Dr. Henry Ievers.

The Secretary submitted the report of the Council which alluded to the year just closed—1923—as ending the one hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society, and that arrangements are being made for the publication of a Centenary Volume setting forth its history.

Quite recently copies have been received of the original letters written by Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of Canada, proposing the formation of this Society in 1823.

The Society continues its affiliation with "The Royal Society of Canada" and with "The Canadian Historical Society" and was represented by J. C. Sutherland at the last annual meetings of those Societies in Ottawa.

The Treasurer's Report was found satisfactory—the membership has now reached 250—a net increase of 24 during the year.

The Librarian states in his Report that there are approximately 20,000 volumes in our Library, and 10,000 in the Aylwin Library—making a total of about 30,000 volumes to which our members have access.

Attention is drawn to the fact that the amount available for the purchase of new books is limited, not only in amount but also in the classes of books that can be purchased under the restrictions imposed by Deeds conveying our Endowment Fund; there is barely sufficient to meet all demands, even with the increased subscription, as adopted at the last Annual Meeting.

The election of Officers then took place resulting as follows:—

President:.....Mr. J. C. SUTHERLAND,
Vice-Presidents:.....—Mr. John Theodore ROSS,
—Mr. A. H. COOK, K.C.,
—Rev. Dr. LOVE, B.A., D.D.,
—and Judge Geo. F. GIBSONE
Hon. Librarian:.....Rev. T. B. MCCORKINDALE,
Hon. Treasurer:.....Rev. W. H. STEVENS,
Hon. Secretary to the Council:...Mr. Wm. CLINT,
Hon. Recording Secretary:...Mr A. ROBERTSON,
Hon. Corresponding Secretary:..Col. Crawford LINDSAY,
Hon. Curator of Apparatus:..Mr. Frank GLASS,
Hon. Curator of Museum:...Dr. Henry IEVERS.
Additional Members of the Council:—Mr. Arthur VEASEY,
—Mr. Stuart S. OLIVER,
—Dr. George AHERN,
—and Mr. F. MCLENNAN.

At the close of the meeting a telegram was read from the President of the Antiquarian Society of Montreal conveying their congratulations to the QUEBEC LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY on its hundredth anniversary.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

FOUNDED IN 1824

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831

Patron:

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA

Vice-Patron:

HIS HONOR THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR, PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

Honorary Members:

The EARL OF ABERDEEN.
The MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, G.C.M.G.
John Miller GRANT, Esq., London.
Rev. Charles ROGERS, LL.D., F.S.A., Scotland.
Sir Gilbert PARKER, D.C.L., M.P., London.
Sydney ROBJOHNS, Esq., F.R.H.S., Scotland.
John READE, F.R.S.C., Montreal.
James ASHBURY, Esq., England.
Henry PHILIPS, Jr., Philadelphia.
Arthur G. BRADLEY, Esq., Northampton, England.
Arthur G. DOUGHTY, C.M.G., Litt. D., F.R.H.S., England, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
Wm. C. LANE, Harvard University, Cambridge, U. S.
Lt.-Col. George T. DENISON, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.

Officers and Council for 1924.

President:.....J. C. SUTHERLAND, Esq.
—A. H. COOK, Esq., K.C.
—John Theodore Ross, Esq.
Vice-Presidents:.....—Rev. Dr. LOVE, B.A., D.D.
—Hon. Judge G. F. GIBSONE.
Treasurer:.....Rev. W. H. STEVENS.
Recording Secretary:....A. ROBERTSON, Esq., K.C.
Corresponding Sect'ry..Lt-Col. Crawford LINDSAY.
Council Secretary:.....Wm. CLINT, Esq.
Librarian:.....Rev. T. B. McCORKINDALE
Curator of Museum:...Henry IEVERS, Esq.
Curator of Apparatus:..Frank GLASS, Esq.
Additional Members —George AHERN, M.D.
of Council.—Stuart OLIVER, Esq.
—Arthur VEASEY, Esq.
—Francis McLENNAN, Esq.
Assistant Librarian...—Mr. John W. STRACHAN.

Past Presidents ex-officio:

Cyrille TESSIER, Esq.
Col. Wm. WOOD, D.C.L., F.R.S.C.
G. W. PARMELEE, Esq., D.C.L., L.L.D.
John HAMILTON, Esq., D.C.L.
Col. H. NEILSON.
E. T. D. CHAMBERS, Esq.
Lieut-Col. Rev. Father O'LEARY.
D. D. O'MEARA, Esq.

The Governors of Morrin College.

Rev'd A. T. LOVE, B.A., D.D.
Rev'd A. Dawson MATHESON, M.A., B.D.
A. H. COOK, Esq., K.C.
Archibald LAURIE, Esq., K.C.
A. ROBERTSON, Esq., K.C.
John Theodore Ross, Esq., B.A.
S. S. OLIVER, Esq.
John McDougall WILSON, Esq.
Gordon A. Ross, Esq.
Guy H. SIMPSON, Esq.

Secretary of Joint Committee:

A. ROBERTSON, Esq., K.C.

Joint Committee with Morrin College for Lectures:

Convener:—Col. Wm. WOOD.

A. ROBERTSON, Esq., Dr. PARMELEE, and Rev. W. H. STEVENS.

Finance Committee:

Convener:—Rev. W. H. STEVENS.

A. VEASEY, Esq., Frank GLASS, Esq., A. ROBERTSON, Esq., K.C., A. H. COOK, Esq., K.C.

Book and Periodical Committee:

Convener:—Rev. T. B. MCCORKINDALE.

A. ROBERTSON, Esq., K.C., Col. Wm. WOOD, S. S. OLIVER, Esq., A. VEASEY, Esq., Rev. W. H. STEVENS, Dr. Geo. AHERN, Henry IEVERS, Esq.

Publication Committee:

Convener:—Henry IEVERS, Esq.
Rev. T. B. McCORKINDALE, Cyrille TESSIER, Esq.,
Col. Wm. WOOD, E. T. D. CHAMBERS, Esq.

Corresponding Members:

ANDERSON, W. P., Lt.-Col., Ottawa.
BARTHOLOMEW, J. G., F.R.G.S., London.
BROCK, R. A., Richmond, Virginia, U.S.
BAILEY, Dr. L. W., F.R.S.C., Fredericton, N.B.
CHURCH, F. W., M.D., Boston.
D'ABBADIE, Antoine, Membre de l'Institut de France, Paris.
DENHAM, Edward, New Bedford, Mass., U.S.
DESECHELLES, Desmazieres, St. Malo, France.
D'URBAN, W. S. M., England.
DEPEYSTER, Gen. J. Watts, Tivoli, N.Y., U.S.
DANSEREAU, Arthur, Montreal.
FILIPPI, le Comte Waldemar, Paris.
GANONG, W. F., M.A., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.
GRAHAM, Lt.-Col. U.S.A., Chicago, U.S.
GERIN, E., Three Rivers, P.Q.
GRAZILLIER, L'Abbé, Saintes, France.
HUGET-LATOUR, Major, Montreal.
JACK, D. Russell, St. John, N.B.
LEFEBVRE DE BELLEFEUILLE, E., Montreal.
LE GARDEUR DE TILLEY, le Comte Hypolite, Chantreau, près Saintes, France.
LIGHTHALL, W. D., M.A., B.C.L., F.R.S.C., Montreal.

MADRAZO, Don Pedro de, Secretary General of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, Spain.
PROVENCHER, Colonel N., Montreal.
RAYMOND, Revd. W. D., St. John, N.B.
ROBERTS, Charles G. D., M.A., F.R.S.C., New York, U.S.
SCOTT, C. Percy, M.A., Windsor, N.S.
SIMMONDS, Peter Lund, London, England.
STONE, W. L., Mt. Vernon, N.Y., U.S.
SULTE, Benjamin, F.R.S.C., Ottawa. *
WYNNE, Thomas H., Richmond, Va., U.S.
WILSON, Gen. James Grant, N.Y., U.S.
WINSHIP, Geo. Parker, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.

Presidents of The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

* Star Indicates, with Portrait.

1824 ..... Sir N. F. BURTON, Lt-Governor.
1828 ..... Hon. Mr. REID, Chief Justice.
1829 ..... Lieut. Frederick BADDELEY, R.N.
1830-31 ..... Hon. J. SEWELL, Chief Justice *
1832 ..... Hon. Andrew STUART, K.C.
1833-34 ..... Hon. W. SHEPPARD. *
1835 ..... Joseph SKEY, M.D.
1836 ..... Rev. Daniel WILKIE, L.L.D. *
1837-38 ..... Hon. Andrew STUART, K.C.
1839-40 ..... Wm. KELLY, M.D., R.N.
1841 ..... Hon. Wm. SHEPPARD. *
1842 ..... Hon. A. W. COCHRANE. *
1843 ..... Hon. Wm. SHEPPARD. *
1844 ..... G. B. FARIBAULT, Esq. *

1845.....Hon. A. W. COCHRANE. *
1846.....John C. FISHER, Esq., L.L.D.
1847.....Hon. Wm. SHEPPARD. *
1848.....Hon. A. W. COCHRANE. *
1849-54.....G. B. FARIBAULT, Esq. *
1855.....E. A. MEREDITH, Esq., M.A. *
1856-57.....W. ANDREW, Esq., M.A.
1858-59.....G. B. FARIBAULT, Esq. *
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1872.....Dr. W. J. ANDERSON. *
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STAVELEY, H.
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STEVENS, Rev. W. H.
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STRANG, Mrs. Allan
STUART, Major
STUART, Miss A.
SUTCLIFFE, Miss
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SUTHERLAND, J. C.

TESSIER, Cyrille
TESSIER, Judge
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THOMSON, G. H.
THOMSON, H. S.
THOMSON, John
THORN, Mrs. F.
THORN, Mrs. M. R.

TREMAINE, Miss
TRIGGE, A. St. L.
TURNER, E. E.
TURNER, Sir Richard

VANFELSON, A. B.
VEASEY, Arthur
VOHL, Lieut.-Col.

WALKER, Miss
WELCH, A. J.
WENTWORTH, Rev. F. H
WHITEHEAD, A. B.
WILDE, S. J.
WILLIAMS, J. Benson
WILLIAMS, Right, Rev. L., Lord Bishop of Quebec.
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SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS

CONTRIBUTED BY MR. J. C. SUTHERLAND

It is interesting to know that, in addition to many popularisations of Science published by the Society throughout the first century of its existence, there were issued also, in the early years and later, some valuable scientific reports which represented original investigations. During the first decade the Society published some of the first geological reports of Canada; before, indeed, the establishment of the Geological Survey of Canada. These early reports were those of Captain (later Major-General) F. H. Baddeley, R.E. and of Captain (later Admiral) H. W. Bayfield, both of whom were Charter Members of this

Society. In 1829 Captain Baddeley's reports on "The Geology of a Portion of the Labrador Coast" and on "The Geognosy of a Part of the Saguenay Country" were published. Then in 1831 followed his "Essay on the Localities of the Metallic Minerals of the Canadas", and in 1835 "A Geological Sketch of the most South-Eastern Portion of Lower Canada". Captain Bayfield's "Outlines of the Geology of Lake Superior" were published by the Society in 1829, his "Remarks on Coral Animals in the Gulf of St. Lawrence" in 1831 and his "Meteorological Journal kept at Lake Superior in 1824" in 1833. Though Geology in the modern sense was then in its infancy—Sir Charles Lyell almost at the same moment launching the first volume of his epoch-making "Principles of Geology"—these early reports had decided merits, and at least served the useful purpose of awakening interest in the geological exploration of Canada.

The Society was also to be associated with Canadian Geology shortly afterwards in another way, the establishment of the Geological Survey of Canada having been helped by a resolution that this Society passed in 1841. Unfortunately the original cannot be found, all the Minute Books before 1854 having been lost, but Mr. Wyatt Malcolm, Chief of the Division of Geological Information, Ottawa, has kindly furnished the following statement, extracted from Scobie's Canadian Almanac for 1851:

"In July 1841, in the first United Parlia-

ment, a petition from the Natural History Society of Montreal, praying for aid to carry out a systematic geological survey of the Province, was presented by Mr. B. Holmes. It was referred to a select committee consisting of Messrs. Holmes, Neilson, Quesnel, Merrit and the Hon. Mr. Killaly, but it was not reported on. A *similar petition* was presented by Mr. Black, from the *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, which was read. The Government took up the matter, and on the motion of the Hon. S. B. Harrison, the sum of £1500 sterling *for the purposes of a survey* was introduced into the estimates".

As that first United Parliament of Canada, not only in 1841 but for several years afterwards, considered that all the geology of Canada could be investigated with that grant of £1500, the need of petitions from learned Societies of Montreal and Quebec at that time is evident. Fuller details of the origin of the Geological Survey of Canada are to be found, of course, in the "Life of Sir William Logan" by Dr. B. J. Harrington, and a footnote on pages 122-125 of the same work contains Sir William Logan's appreciation of the original determinations of Baddeley and Bayfield, both Charter Members of this Society.

In later decades there were other important original papers on Geology. First of all may be mentioned two by James Douglas, jr. This was Dr. James Douglas, whose benefactions to the

Society have practically enabled it to live. In 1864 the Society published his report on "The Gold Fields of Canada" and in 1871 his "Notes on the Copper Deposits at Harvey Hill". In 1864 also there was published a report by Dr. W. J. Anderson on the "Gold Fields of Nova Scotia". Lieutenant (later Commander) E. D. Ashe, R.N., F.R.A.S., a former President of this Society, contributed various original papers among which may be mentioned "The Late Eclipse: Journal of a Voyage from New York to Labrador" (1861), "Latitude of the Quebec Observatory".

Lieutenant Ashe, R.N., was in charge of the first Observatory in Quebec which was situated inside the Citadel walls in 1852.

A letter from Lieut. Ashe, R.N. was read to the Society, together with a copy of his letter to the Governor-General requesting establishment of an Astronomical Observatory at Quebec.

On the 20th of February the Society passed the following resolution:—That the Society concurs in the views of Mr. Ashe on the advantages which would result to the Province from the establishment of an Astronomical Observatory at Quebec, and that a Memorial be addressed forthwith to His Excellency Sir Edmund Head on the subject:—And Messrs. Campbell and Bowen were requested to prepare said Memorial.

The Society received a letter from the Governor-General's Secretary 13th December 1854,

reporting the substance of a despatch received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in reply to an application of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC for a part of the Commissariat premises in the city with a view to the erection thereon of a Museum and an Observatory.

The Board of Ordnance report—"that adverting to the fact that Quebeo is henceforward to be the Head Quarters of Her Majesty's troops in Canada, it would not be advisable to part with any portion of the ground there, now in possession of the Ordnance". (Vide Letter Book).

The present Astronomical Observatory was erected on Plains of Abraham (now Battlefields Park,) in 1874. The instruments being transferred from the old observatory in the Citadel; Commander E. D. Ashe, R.N. who was President of this Society 1866-67 and 1873, continuing in charge.

Mr. W. A. Ashe, succeeded his father—Commander Ashe—as Director at the Quebec Observatory in 1886.

Mr. W. A. Ashe, Director of the Quebec Observatory died in December, 1893.

Mr. Arthur Smith, C.E., P.L.S. was appointed Director in charge of the Quebec Astronomical Observatory in 1894, succeeding the late Mr. W. A. Ashe. The Time Gun is fired daily at noon from signals given by the Observatory—and during the season of navigation, the Time Ball at the

Citadel is dropped at one o'clock to enable navigators to adjust their chronometers.

Two Entomological papers in 1864 and one in 1865, by Mr. W. Couper, were published. Two of the papers dealt with Coleoptera and Diptera found at Quebec and other parts of Lower Canada. Various Meteorological papers from 1825 to 1837, by W. Kelly, M.D., R.N., were published by the Society. In 1855 there was a paper on meteorological observations taken at Quebec during the winter of 1853-54 by Lieut. R. A. Noble, F.R.A.S.

Botany and Natural History in general received much attention. A former President, Hon. W. Sheppard of Woodfield, contributed "Observations on the American Plants described by Charlevoix" (1829); "Notes on some of the Plants of Lower Canada" (1831); "Notes on some of the Plants of Canada" (1832); and other papers in 1835 and 1843, while Mrs. Sheppard contributed a paper on "The Recent Shells which characterise Quebec and its environs" (1829) and "Notes on some of the Canadian Song Birds" (1835). Later, in 1861, 1862 and 1863, Mr. Samuel Sturton contributed two papers on Botany and one on the "Danger Arising from the Substitution of Benzole for Turpentine in Paint". At this same period Mr. John Langton, M.A., contributed various papers—one being "On the age of Timber Trees and the Prospects of a continuous supply of timber in Canada" (1862), which might contain hints for today not only in respect to timber but also

pulp-wood! In 1866 Mr. Langton wrote "On the measurements of heads in Ethnological Investigations" and in 1873 on "Early French Settlements in America". In 1866 Sir James Lemoine wrote "On the Birds of Canada", as well as on literary subjects in other years.

The Index of the publications of the Society which was prepared by the late Fred. C. Wurtele in 1891, and published in that year, is indeed rich in its proofs of the intellectual activity of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, and the foregoing synopsis is merely intended to indicate this fact.

HISTORIC TABLETS IN QUEBEC CITY

1613—COUILLARD'S HOUSE. Quebec Seminary Yard:—"Here stood the house of Guillaume Couillard, employé of the Company of the Hundred Associates, who arrived in Quebec in 1613 and who died on the 4th of March, 1663".

1615—FIRST CHAPEL IN QUEBEC. Little Champlain Street and Sous-le-Fort Street:—"The approximate site of the first chapel erected in Quebec by Champlain in 1615. It was destroyed by fire during the occupation of Quebec by the Kirkes from 1629 to 1632".

1620—FORT ST. LOUIS. Dufferin Terrace:—"Here stood the Fort and Chateau St. Louis. The Fort was erected in the year 1620; within its walls

the founder of Quebec died on December 25th 1635. The Chateau was the residence of Governors of Canada. Begun by the Chevalier de Montmagny, reconstructed by Count de Frontenac, enlarged by Sir James Craig. This building was destroyed by fire on the 23rd of January, 1834".

1633—Church of Notre Dame. Mountain Hill—at Gate to Cardinal Palace:—"Here was erected, in 1633, the Church of Notre-Dame de Recouvrance under the direction and in fulfilment of a vow of Samuel de Champlain, first Governor of New France. Restored and enlarged in 1634. It was destroyed by fire on the 14th of June, 1640".

1635—Jesuits' College. Front of City Hall: —"On this site stood the Jesuits' College, founded in 1635. Destroyed by fire in 1640, rebuilt in 1647, considerably enlarged in 1725. It was occupied partly by British troops and public offices, from 1759 to 1776; as a barrack from 1776 to 1871, and finally demolished in 1877. The church attached to it, which extended towards Ste. Anne street, was erected in 1666 and demolished in 1807".

1639—Residence of V. M. Marie de l'Incarnation. In Lower Town—Notre-Dame des Victoires Church:—"On this site stood in 1639 a house belonging to Noel Juchereau des Chatelets, which was the first residence of the Venerable Mother de l'Incarnation and of the Ursuline Nuns in Quebec".

1640—Residence of Jesuit Fathers. Near

English Cathedral, at the Corner of Garden and Ste. Anne streets:—"On this ground stood the trading house of the Company of the Hundred Associates. It served as a parish church after the burning down of Notre-Dame de Recouvrance on the 14th of June, 1640, and also served as a place of residence for the Jesuit Fathers from 1640 to 1657".

1644 — RESIDENCE OF MONSEIGNEUR DE LAVAL. Beside the Ursuline Chapel on Donnacona street:—"On this site stood the house of Madame de la Peltrie. It was built in 1644, and within it resided for two years (1659-1661) Monseigneur de Laval, first Bishop of Quebec. It was replaced by the present day-school of the Ursulines in 1836".

1650—RECOLLETS CHURCH. On the north-east corner of the Court House, Place d'Armes:—"This ground, which formerly extended to the east, and was occupied by the Seneschal's Court about the year 1650, became in 1681 the property of the Recollets, who erected on it a church and monastery which were destroyed by fire in 1796. The old Court House built at the beginning of the 19th century was also destroyed by fire in 1873. The present edifice taking the place shortly afterwards. The adjoining Anglican Cathedral occupies part of the grounds once held by the Recollets".

1668—TALON'S BREWERY. Palace Hill on Boswells Brewery:—"On this site the Intendant

Talon erected a brewery in 1668 which was converted into a Palace for the Intendants by M. de Meulles in 1686. This building was destroyed by fire in 1713, reconstructed by M. Bégon; it was again damaged by fire in 1726, restored by M. Dupuys in 1727; and it was finally destroyed during the siege of Quebec in 1775".

1681—Residence of Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye. On the Chinic Hardware Co's. store at the foot of Mountain Hill:—"Here stood in 1681 the dwelling house of Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, one of the most prominent merchants of Quebec in the seventeenth century, the ancestor of the de Gaspé family".

1687—First Graveyard. Half way down Mountain Hill on fortification wall:—"Within this enclosure was located the first graveyard of Quebec, where interments were made from the early days of the Colony up to 1687".

1688—Notre-Dame des Victoires Church. Lower Town:—"This church was erected in 1688, under the name of L'Enfant Jésus, on the site of the old "King's Store", took the name of "Notre-Dame de la Victoire" in 1690, and of "Notre-Dame des Victoires" in 1711. The square in front of the church was used as the market place of Quebec during the French Regime and around it stood the residences of the principal merchants of that time. In the centre of the square in 1686, the

Intendant Champigny erected a bronze bust of Louis XIV".

1775—MONTGOMERY DEFEATED. On the cliff above Champlain street, near Marine and Fisheries:—"Here stood the Undaunted Fifty safeguarding Canada, defeating Montgomery at the Près-de-Ville barricade on the last day of 1775; Guy Carleton commanding at Quebec".

1776—MONTGOMERY'S BURIAL PLACE. On the left side of Citadel Hill, 50 yards from St. Louis street:—"In this place was buried, on the 4th of January, 1776, along with his two aides-de-camp, McPherson and Cheesman, and certain of his soldiers, Richard Montgomery, the American General who was killed during the attack on Quebec on the 31st of December, 1775. In 1818 his remains were exhumed and removed to the precincts of St. Paul's Church, New York".

1784—CHATEAU HALDIMAND. By the baggage office of the Château Frontenac, (St. Louis street):—"Here stood the Chateau Haldimand, or Vieux Chateau, occupying part of the outworks of the Fort St. Louis. Begun in 1784, completed in 1787. This edifice was displaced by the erection of the present Chateau Frontenac in 1892".

1791—RESIDENCE DUKE OF KENT. On the front of the "Kent House" east corner of St. Louis and Haldimand streets:—"This building was the residence of the Duke of Kent, father of Queen

Victoria, during his stay in Quebec, from 1791 to 1794".

1690 — FORTIFIED WINDMILL. Mont-Carmel street:—"On this height, called Mont-Carmel, there stood in 1690 a stone windmill whereon was mounted a battery of three guns, and which served for a redoubt during the siege of Quebec by Phipps. It was called 'le Cavalier du Moulin' ".

1691—PALACE GATE. On the wall of the Dominion Arsenal, Palace Hill: — "Here stood Palace, or St. Nicholas Gate, built in 1691, restored successively in 1720 and 1790; it was rebuilt from 1823 to 1832, and finally demolished in 1874".

1692—CONVENT-NUNS OF THE CONGREGATION. Corner of St. Peter street and Mountain Hill:—"On this site stood the convent of the Nuns of the Congregation, established by Sister Bourgeoys in 1692, and occupied by the said religious community up to 1842, when it removed to St. Roch".

1746—FIRST CUSTOMS HOUSE. On the Marine Department Building, Champlain street:—"In 1746, Louis XV, King of France, took possession of this area of ground in order to establish a new shipyard for the building of his vessels. Here stood the first Custom House erected by the British Government in Quebec after the cession".

1758—MONTCALM'S RESIDENCE. 5[illegible] part street, (previous residence of Sir Lom[illegible]

Premier of Quebec Province):—"On this site stood the house where Montcalm resided during the years of 1758 and 1759".

1775—ARNOLD DEFEATED. On the Molsons' Bank Building, Lower Town—St. James street, between St. Peter and Sault-au-Matelot streets:—"Here stood her old and new defenders uniting, guarding, saving Canada, defeating Arnold at the Sault-au-Matelot barricade on the last day of 1775; Guy Carleton commanding at Quebec".

1797—PRESCOTT GATE. On the new portion of the City Post Office, Mountain Hill (Tablet removed during construction of Post Office):—"Prescott Gate built in 1797; rebuilt, 1815; torn down, 1871-72".

1806—FIRST FRENCH NEWSPAPER. On No. 22, Ferland street:—"Here was established, in 1806, "Le Canadien", the first French newspaper published in Quebec".

1866—RESIDENCE F.-X. GARNEAU. Corner of St. Flavien and Couillard streets, (No. 14 St. Flavien):—"In this house François-Xavier Garneau, the historian of Canada, lived for several years and here he died on the 3rd February, 1866".

HISTORIC TABLETS YET TO BE PLACED

THE POWDER MAGAZINE.
THE HURON FORT.
THE TREASURY.
HOTEL DES BARONS.

Church and Monastery of Recollets.
d'Arnour House where Montcalm Died.
Old Printing Site Quebec Gazette
House where Hon. Wm. Smith Died.
House of Louis Hébert.
First Episcopal Church of Mgr. de St. Vallier
Hope Gate.
Bust of Louis XIV.
House Occupied by Champlain.
Chapel in House Occupied by Champlain.
Here was Arnold Wounded.
First Convent and Church of Récollets.
St. John's Chapel.
St. John's Gate.
First Chapel in Saint Roch.
Cemetry of General Hospital—French and English Soldiers 1759-60.
Dollard.

COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENTS IN QUEBEC CITY

Wolfe and Montcalm....	Governor's Garden
Champlain.....	Dufferin Terrace
Laval.....	Post Office Place
Cardinal Taschereau...	Front of Basilica
Hébert, Louis.....	Side of City Hall
Marie Rollet and Children.....	" "
Cartier, Georges-Etienne.	Laval-Montmor Park
Heroes Boer War.....	Esplanade Gro

GARNEAU, F.-X.	Outside Louis Gate
SHORT-WALLICK	Opposite Drill Hall
FRONTENAC	Parliament Grounds
ELGIN	" "
DE SALABERRY	" "
MONTCALM	" "
WOLFE	" "
LÉVIS	" "
TALON	" "
DORCHESTER	" "
MERCIER	" "
LA FONTAINE	" "
BALDWIN	" "
DE LA VÉRENDRYE	" "
PÉRE MARQUETTE	" "
PÉRE DE BRÉBŒUF	" "
BOUCHER DE GROSBOIS	" "
HALTE DANS LA FORET	" "
LE PECHEUR à la Nigonge	" "
MONTCALM	Park Montcalm
HOPE	Spencer Grange
GARNEAU	Belmont Cemetery
BAINES	Mount Hermon Cem.
DES BRAVES	Ste. Foye Road
QUEEN VICTORIA	Victoria Park
CARTIER-BRÉBŒUF	Near River St. Charles
MARTIN, Abraham	C. P. R. SS. Wharf

A Monument to Jacques Cartier is to be erected in Quebec during autumn of 1924. This is to be a replica of the statue in St. Malo, France,

the birth place of Jacques Cartier, by the famous French sculptor Georges Bareau.

The Memorial "Cross of Sacrifice" is placed at proposed entrance to the National Battlefields Park just outside St. Louis Gate. The joint inscription, on either side of cross to read:—

TO THE CITIZENS OF QUEBEC
WHO FELL
IN THE GREAT WAR

A NOS MORTS
DE LA GRANDE GUERRE

With the dates 1914-1918 in front of Cross.

FIRST MASS ON ISLAND OF MONTREAL

A document has just been found after over three hundred years, registering the fact of a Mass having been held on the Island of Montreal in 1615, stating Champlain was present, shortly after his leaving Quebec.

A news report from Montreal, dated 7th May, 1924 states the following:—

Document enclosed in Earthen Jar discovered by Gardeners in cavity of Elm Tree at Sault-aux-Recollets 1924

Montreal, May 7—While grafting an elm tree in the grounds of the Sisters of Mercy at Sault-aux-Récollets recently, two gardeners discovered in a cavity of the tree an earthen jar in which was a document covered with indecipherable writing. It was handed to a chemist who treated the paper and brought out the writing which was found to be an account of the first Mass celebrated on the Island of Montreal in the year 1615. The words were as follows:

"In the presence of Father Jamay and of Champlain a Mass of Actions of grace at which were present seven Frenchmen, twelve "Cri" children, six Algonquins, chanted and spoken by Father Le Caron, Recollet Father, Charles Lavoisier (or Lavoidin), Bodiaroka, Jean Lebeuf".

Here follow four other lines which are indecipherable and which probably contained the names of witnesses. It also appears that Jean Lebeuf was the writer of the manuscript.

In Abbé Laverdière's "History of Canada" the following account is given of this Mass: "Champlain was forced to come down the river from

Quebec to arrange details to be carried out during his absence. He again met at Rivière des Prairies, Father Le Caron, who chanted a solemn Mass on the 23rd or 24th June, 1615, in the presence of a large number of savages".

The elm tree in which the discovery was made is computed to be 340 years old. Its diameter a few feet from the ground is about five feet and its height about 125 feet.

This document is apparently authenticated by Champlain's letters to His Majesty King Louis XIII of France in 1615 as recorded by l'Abbé C. H. Laverdière, M.A., Professor of History, Laval University, Quebec, Vol. 2, p. 16, taken from the letters published in Paris in 1619.

THE QUEBEC BRIDGE

Built by the St. Lawrence Bridge Company in 1917 is of the cantilever type and is notable not only as having the longest, and by far the heaviest single span yet built, but also for *being the first to use*, in an important structure, *the "K" system of web bracing.*

Owing to the hoisting tackle breaking, the suspended central span fell on the 11th of September, 1916.

The new central span was securely connected into position—(150 feet above high tide) on the 20th of September, 1917, completing this giant structure.

The first railway train passed over the Bridge on the 17th of October, 1917.

The Bridge was open for regular train service on the 3rd of December, 1917.

The length of Bridge is.....	2,830 feet
" " between piers.....	1,800 "
" " of central suspension span.....	640 "
The length from North Pier to— shore 515'.....—	
The length from South Pier to— shore 515'.....—	1,030 "
Total weight of metal structure...	66,480 tons
" " central span.....	5,510 "
Total cost of metal structure.....	$14,500,000
Total cost of Bridge.	25,000,000

COLD STORAGE WAREHOUSE

OF

QUEBEC HARBOUR COMMISSION

Was commenced in November, 1923—Contracted to be ready to operate in the Autumn of 1924.

Located on St. James street and Dalhousie

street to deep water berths, so placed that fish &c. may be landed from boats almost at the door.

Warehouse.....127 ft. x 106 ft. 5 stories high.

Fish Storage
House..... 60 ft. x 40 ft. 2 " "

Power Plant.... 60 ft. x 40 ft. 2 " "

With provision for 4 additional stories through out as required.

One half of building is insulated and piped for cold storage, the other half to be likewise insulated when required; this portion meanwhile used for general storage not requiring refrigeration.

Temperatures on three floors to be..29° Fahr.

Fish storage one floor to be.....15° "

" " " " " .....Zero "

Capable of reducing to 10° below Zero Fahr.

The cool rooms are supplied with humidifiers and air washing machine capable of renewing air in rooms in 15 minutes.

The cool rooms are capable of storing approximately 850,000 pounds of fish. Poultry, game, meats, eggs, &c., can also be stored.

General storage space 329,000 cubic feet.

Cold " " 249,000 " "

Total of.....578,000 " "

All the machinery and equipment [illegible] made in Canada.

QUEBEC HARBOUR COMMISSION

			Frontage
Steamship berths in Wet Dock			3,000 feet
"	"	Tidal Harbour	2,000 "
"	"	Breakwater	2,200 "
"	"	Pointe-à-Carcy Wharves	1,400 "
"	"	River St. Charles Basin	3,750 "
		Total	12,350 "

Depth of water at low tide Wet Dock			25 to 26 feet
"	"	Tidal Harbour	24 to 30 "
"	"	Breakwater over	40 "
"	"	Pt-à-Carcy Ocean berth	40 "
"	"	River St. Charles	35 "

Grain Elevator capacity 2,000,000 bushels.

" " loading capacity 60,000 bushels per hour.

A modern Bunkering Plant for coal was constructed in 1923.

Fuel Oil Pipe Line has supplied vessels with 275 tons or 66,275 gallons per hour.

Railway connections accessable to all railroads.

Sixteen miles of R.R. track on docks to handle freight.

GRAVING DOCKS

There are two graving docks, one 600 feet long by 62 feet wide at entrance—and one of 1,150 feet long by 120 feet wide at entrance, capable of taking the largest vessels afloat; with workshops alongside, capable of executing all required repairs to any sized vessel.

DIVERSION OF WATER

The diversion of water from Lake Michigan for the so called "Sanitary Canal" for Chicago was protested against by Canada in 1912.

The United States Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson found "against the right of Chicago to take the water from the Great Lakes and divert it to the Gulf of Mexico in order to carry on sanitary and water-power operations". The District Court of the United States later upheld this dictum of their Government—An appeal was entered against these findings by parties interested in Chicago's action.

Six of the American States bordering on the Great Lakes—Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, also opposed any further diversion of the water from the Great Lakes, which carry the greatest water borne commerce in the world, the traffic being upwards of one hundred and twenty million tons annually.

A SOURCE OF MUCH HISTORIC DATA

The last issue of the "Quebec Gazette", founded on the 21st of June 1764, appeared on the 24th of April 1924, and is now combined with the Quebec Chronicle since the 1st of May 1924.

While the "Quebec Gazette" was the second oldest newspaper in Canada as regards a first issue, it was the oldest in the Dominion,—if not in the World—that has been continuously published for such a length of time as reached at the date of its last issue, almost one hundred and sixty years. It was originally published as a Weekly in both English and French in parallel lines, and was the Official Paper up to 1818. In 1838 the "Quebec Gazette" became a daily paper, being published three days in English and three days in French alternately.

It again became a weekly in 1874, being published in English only, under the auspices of the "Quebec Chronicle".

The first issue of the united paper is dated May 1st 1924 appearing as the "Quebec Chronicle" and "Quebec Gazette".

The "Gazette" published in 1789 the founding of

THE FIRST AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY IN CANADA

The "Agriculture Society in the District of Quebec" was formed on the 6th day of January

1789 under a suggestion of His Excellency the Right Honorable Guy, Lord Dorchester, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Provinces on the Continent of North America; who became its Patron and most active supporter.

The Secretary of the first meeting announced that Lord Dorchester had desired that the Directors chosen consist of eight English and eight Canadian gentlemen, who were to meet and frame Rules and Regulations to govern the Society; also inviting the members of the Legislature and others interested to join the Society.

Attention was drawn to the great importance of importing improved seed for the farmers, the same to be distributed as ordered by the Directors.

It was ordered that the best seed of wheat, oats, barley, rye, tares, hempseed, peas, potatoes, cattle cabbage and cattle carrots be purchased in London, where seeds of various kinds specially grown in England, Scotland, Norway, Poland and Hungary could be secured: and these to be shipped in two fast vessels in order to insure the safe and speedy arrival of seed in time for planting, in case of accident to either vessel.

The First Officers of this Society.

1789

His Excellency Guy, Lord Dorchester—*Patron and President.*

Brigadier General Hope—Lieut.-Governor—*Vice President.*

All the Council [illegible] dian Bishop

First Council of Directors

The Rev. Mr. BÉDARD	The Rev. Philip TOOSEY
The Hon. le Comte DUPRE	The Hon. Henry CALDWELL
The Hon. Charles DELANAUDIERE	The Hon. Hugh FINLAY
A. BERTHELOT	George DAVIDSON
Louis DUNIE	David LYNDE
G. E. TASCHEREAU	Kenelm CHANDLER
A. J. Duchesnay	Thomas SCOTT
J. M. de SALABERRY	J. Mervin NOOTH

Seven of whom may at any time proceed to business

Treasurer—John LEES

Secretary—Hugh FINLAY

The names of the original subscribers were also published, comprising 83 of (evidently) the most prominent French and English persons in Quebec.

The Society immediately proceeded to investigate the disease called "smut" which was causing great loss to all grain crops in Canada at that time, and the Society experimented with various means of combating this evil.

"The experiments of Messrs. de Salaberry, Thomas Aylwin and J. B. Couillard were reported as successful in controlling the plague of "smut", the means employed were published, and Circulars in French and English were sent to every Curé in all the Parishes for the benefit of the farmers.

"In April 1790 two oxen were exhibited, each weighing over one thousand pounds—these were bred from two small Canadian cows by a bull imported by the Society from England, showing the advantage of good sires to improve Canadian beef."

From the foregoing testimony it is seen, that the British Administration lost no time, or opportunity, in securing important benefits to the Canadian farmer.

On the 17th of April 1790 Lord Dorchester caused to be published "An Ordinance for the preservation of ancient French Records, to more fully protect those who held property under titles acquired prior to the Conquest".

The following is an extract from an Address made to the Grand Jury in Quebec on the 3rd of November 1789—which reads in part as follows:

> "Canada was conquered—*but conquered into liberty*, and engrafted into such a Constitution as the French admire.
>
> "Happy Canadians! to be a sharer on the purchase, without contributing to the inestimable price England paid for the uncomparable Political Fabric, enjoyed by no other people, in any country, of any age. The lesson taught to this mixed Province is to

melt down ancient discords into mutual love and with united hands to improve and defend the felicity we possess".

This Address, given nearly one hundred and thirty years ago, must have yielded more generous fruit by now, had the two languages been more generally understood by both French and English.

An extract from an Article written in Paris (soon after the French Revolution) appeared in the "Quebec Gazette" of 18th February 1790—"The study of the English language in France is one of those collateral circumstances which tend to disseminate *just ideas respecting liberty* in France: Reynal—a French author of great distinction and a zealous advocate for general liberty—in speaking of the English language says;—May English be learned by all Nations that aspire not to be slaves—they will then dare to think and act for themselves. It is not a language of only words but of ideas, they—the English—are the first who ever made use of the expression THE MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE, and that alone is sufficient to consecrate a language".

The English should also study French, to enable each of us to fully understand the feelings of our French fellow members of the British Empire —who, with us, have every reason to be proud of the past, which enables us each to respect the other as a necessary part of the Whole.

The evidence of over one hundred and thirty years ago shows the cordial feelings of good will,

expressed in deeds as well as words, which should stimulate both English and French Canadians to endeavour to understand and appreciate each other more thoroughly, much to the benefit of every soul that makes this fair Canada a home, and truly learn, and act upon, the lesson contained in the Address delivered in 1789, by which means the English and the French of Canada may become a truly United People.

WELLINGTON'S REPORT ON THE DEFENCE OF CANADA

LONDON, March 1st, 1819.

My dear Lord,

I have perused with attention the dispatches from the Duke of Richmond upon the Defences of Canada and the papers upon that subject sent me from your office which I now return; and having given them every attention in my power and endeavoured to make myself acquainted with the nature of the Military operations which can be carried on in that country, I am about to communicate to your Lordship my opinion upon the Plans of Defence for those Provinces.

I concur entirely with the Duke of Richmond that the points of most importance in the two Provinces are Quebec, Montreal and Kingston.

In respect to Quebec itself I would recommend the purchase of Mr. Fergusson's ground, and the adoption of every measure in the power of Government to obtain the removal of the houses already close to the Works.

As far as I can learn the Siege of Quebec would be impracticable in a late Season of the year if those houses were removed, I would likewise recommend the construction of the Citadel as proposed. An entrenched Camp would like-

wise be useful on the Heights of Abraham now occupied by the Martillo Towers, but if its flanks cannot be well secured so that the communication with the Tower cannot be interrupted I would recommend that the Camp should only be traced out and that it should be executed afterwards while the enemy should be on the advance.

The work of this kind cannot be considered perfect in itself, nor can its defects be kept secret from the power likely to attack it, and it is as well that he should not have the advantage of framing his plan and forming his means of attack with an exact fore knowledge of the system of Defence to be opposed to him, and of all its defects.

For this reason, as well as to avoid immediate expense, I would recommend the construction of the works of the entrenched camp to be delayed, although I consider an entrenched camp upon the heights of Abraham useful, and even necessary considering the kind of Troops which may be assembled for the defence of Quebec.

Connected with the Defence of Quebec I shall next proceed to consider those of the River Richelieu which appears the only line of advance of an enemy on Quebec, at least it is the only one contemplated by the Duke of Richmond, and the Officers who have written upon that subject.

I entirely concur with the Duke in thinking it desirable that the Works upon the Isle aux Noix should be reformed and put in a respectable state of defence.

I particularly approve of the scheme of making the work within the Island complete and not to consider the River as the Ditch. I should prefer the Work however if it occupied a larger proportion of the Island particularly to the Northward and Westward. I should not think it necessary to give more than a demi revetment to the Scarp.

The counterscarp should be rivetted in order to admit Galleries, for a reverse fire for the defence of the ditch. I would recommend that the covert way should be palisaded with palisades each made of an entire Tree placed about three inches asunder so that Musquetry can be fired from behind them, and firmly fixed in the ground but unconnected with each other.

However dexterous the American soldiers may be in the use of an axe they would not easily cut down these Palisades.

This defence with a demi revetment although infinitely less expensive would thus answer in such situations all the purposes of a complete revetment in Masonry. These Palisades might be kept in store and there would be no occasion to place them till War should be expected.

I would recommend that the Fort should occupy the whole, or nearly the whole of the Isle aux Noix and that those Works looking to the N. W. should have Ordnance sufficiently heavy to be able to command the entrance of the South River.

Indeed it would be advisable to occup as an

outwork of the Isle aux Noix a small Island which is at the mouth of that River, as it appears to be navigable from a point only Miles from Misiskoni Bay, which communicates with Lake Champlain and if an enemy could use this communication he would turn the Isle aux Noix.

The Forts of St. John and Chambly should be kept in a state of efficient repair and everything should be done to impede the navigation of the Richelieu River by the Enemy.

This River remaining in our possession it appears difficult if not impossible in the existing state of the country between the Richelieu, the St. Lawrence and the American Province of Maine for an enemy to penetrate through it with an Army of sufficient strength, its supplies and the necessary Military equipments to be able to make an attack upon Quebec.

The next point for consideration is Montreal and I entirely concur with the Duke of Richmond in the opinion that it would be expedient to destroy all the Works, and to sell all the Magazines, Military Buildings &c. at that place and place them upon the Island of St. Helens. This Island should be fortified as above recommended for the Isle aux Noix.

In reference to the Defence of the Island of St. Helens I would recommend the occupation of the small Island of St. Regis below Cornwall at the extreme of Lake St. François in the River St. Lawrence. This may be considered as an

outpost of Montreal which will besides have the effect of protecting the Navigation of Lake St. François &c., &c.

I do not think it would be necessary to do anything upon the River Chateau Gay although the Americans used it as a line of attack upon Montreal last War. But they were easily repulsed.

Before I proceed to the consideration of Kingston and of the Defences of the Province of Upper Canada it is proper that I should advert to the communications with that Province.

I consider that by the St. Lawrence above St. Regis, and by the Lake Ontario, the River Niagara, the Lake Erié, the River Detroit, Lake St. Clair, the river St. Clair and Lake Huron to be impracticable in time of War. An enemy has only to place a few heavy Batteries closed in, at almost any points of the River in order to prevent our use of the Navigation. We may likewise prevent his using it; but it is absolutely necessary to us, and is not so to him.

This observation applies only to the Rivers; but in respect to the Lakes it must be observed that our use of each of them must depend upon the Naval superiority upon it, and as everything which can enable us to acquire and maintain such Naval superiority must come from England and then by a difficult River Navigation of nearly 300 miles to Kingston and 1200 to Lake Huron, whereas the enemy have all they require upon the spot; it can scarcely be believed that we shall be

able to acquire and maintain that Naval Superiority.

The pains that Sir E. Owen has taken to survey these Lakes and Rivers, and to point out the Plans at which loaded boats and vessels might take shelter, and might receive protection from Works and Troops, then the difficulty, may be the impossibility of executing such a system. Works must be constructed, armed and manned at every point of the Lakes and after all the Officers and Men within might and would have the mortification of seeing valuable cargoes carried off by a single gun boat to which they should not be able to afford protection. But not only is the use of these Rivers and Lakes as a communication impracticable in time of War, but even if it were or could be made practicable I should not recommend it, as it is the longest, the most inconvenient and expensive and the most liable to accidents and contingencies.

I would recommend then first that the Canal from Montreal to La Chine, should be completed, so as to take boats of the largest size.

Secondly, That the Navigation of the River Ottawa should be made practicable to the junction of the River Rideau with the former.

Thirdly, that the Navigation of the River Rideau should be made practicable, and easy to the junction with the Irish Creek and thence if possible through the different Lakes to Kingston.

There is besides I believe a line which leads

up the Rideau River towards the Head of Lake Simcoe, and into Lake Simcoe by what is called the Black River, this line ought to be examined and completed if practicable either by Canal or Railway. All these lines of Navigation ought to be rendered if possible so perfect as that a Steam Vessel might be used to tow the loaded Boats. Trackways should be made on which the Troops might march.

If the Navigation could not be completed between the Head of the Irish Creek which runs into the Rideau River and Huntley's Bridge on the waters which fall into Lake Ontario I would recommend that a good Railway should be constructed, on the carriages of which loaded Boats might be taken from the one to the other.

The point of the greatest importance after Montreal is certainly Kingston. It is the connecting point between the Upper and Lower Province. It contains the Dock Yard on Lake Ontario, and is the most populous Town in the Province, and at the same time so situated in relation to Sackett's Harbour as to be liable at all times to be attacked.

It must then be secured in some degree by Works but without having more knowledge of the detail of the ground, and of the positions of the several Islands than I can acquire from the descriptions and plans transmitted which I have perused and examined, it is impossible for me to say what ought to be done.

As the attack must be made however by a

combined Naval and Military operation I would recommend the occupation with closed works, sufficiently armed of Snake Island, Cedar Island and Garden Island. Those on the spot would best be able to determine how far this system ought to be carried and whether there ought to be a Work on Cataragui Point and one on Simcoe Island. None of these Works need be very capacious or require more than 150 men to garrison them, but they must be well provided with Artillery of the largest description and there must be a good Fort at Point Henry or elsewhere on the Mainland as a keep to these Outworks.

I confess that I very much doubt that we shall ever be able to maintain even an equality of Naval Force upon the Lake Ontario and that being the case I recommend that we should look for our communications forward to the improvements of the Inland Navigation from Kingston by the Bay of Querté and the Rice Lake, to Lake Simcoe and thence to Lake Huron even if it should be found that a water communication can be established from the head of the Rideau by the Black River into Lake Simcoe.

It is impossible to form a judgment from the very defective details which I have perused and the confused Maps and Charts which accompany them how far such a Navigation can be ensured.

It is very obvious however that the object of a Military communication can be ensured by the assistance of Railways for the necessary Portages.

If the communication with Lake Simcoe were once established, whether by the Rice Lake or direct from the Head of the Rideau I would recommend you to remove the capital of the Province from York to Kingston if that Town should not be too far removed from the centre of the Province, or if it is I would then fix the capital of the Province either higher up the Trent River or between the Head of the Trent and the Head of Hollands River.

If it should be impossible to remove the Capital, and, York should still be the place it must be fortified; otherwise from the probable Naval superiority of the enemy on the Lake Ontario, it will be impossible to prevent that Town from falling into his hands as often as it may suit him to visit it whether in Winter or Summer. How this Town is to be fortified it is impossible for me to say without knowing more of the ground than I do at present.

The next point for consideration is the Niagara Frontier. It is my opinion that this Frontier cannot be defended by Fort George or Fort Erié or even by the possession of Fort Niagara. Both Fort George and Fort Erié fell last War without one day's defence and notwithstanding that Fort Niagara was in our possession from the Winter of 1813 General Brown remained on the left of the River Niagara from the month of July to November 1814 and in possession of Fort Erié.

The Niagara Frontier can be maintained and

defended only by a superior Army, and this superior Army can only be maintained by the means which can be conveyed to that distant Frontier.

It is obvious that we cannot rely upon the enjoyment of the Navigation of Lake Ontario.

In my opinion then we ought to look to that of La Grande Riviere which falls into Lake Erié; we ought to endeavour to connect the Navigation of that River with that of Hollands River which falls into Lake Simcoe, with that of the River Thames and with that of the River Chippewa by good Railways if the tributary streams should not allow of doing it by water. By these means we should be able to maintain an Army on the Niagara Frontier notwithstanding that the enemy should be in possession of the Navigation of Lake Ontario.

We should likewise be enabled to concentrate our Naval means in small craft upon Lake Huron, Lake Erié and Lake Ontario upon whichever of the three we might think fit and thus be enabled to be superior to the enemy on one of the three notwithstanding that our operations on Shore and the Defence of the country could be entirely independent of such superiority.

I am perfectly aware however that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the inhabitants of the country to this system, that they will not believe they are to be defended unless they have visible means of defence on the spot, and that people of that description are not unlikely to connect themselves with an enemy to whose mercy they may think they are abandoned and

that to prevent these inconveniences it may be necessary to maintain a Fort on the Niagara Frontier. If this should be the case I would as far as I can judge of the localities recommend a position on the River Chippewa in preference to either Fort Erié or Fort George.

The next point for consideration is a station upon Lake Huron and upon the whole I prefer Penetangathem with its communication with Lake Simcoe.

The result of all these measures would be to give us a secure line of communication from Quebec to Lake Huron of less than 500 miles even passing by Kingston, but less than 400 direct by the Rideau and Black River instead of 1200 miles, and affording better means of defending and maintaining the Niagara Frontier.

The system of defence which I would recommend is as follows:

I suppose the Army disposable in the Field to consist of 10,000 Men Cavalry Infantry of the Line and Artillery besides 1000 Troops of the Line in Garrison at Quebec; 500 at Montreal, 500 in the Garrisons on the Richelieu, 500 in Kingston, 500 on the Niagara and in Pentengathem, besides the Militia which may be destined for each Post.

I take this to be about the Force which was in Canada when the last War broke out.

I would divide this number into two Corps each consisting of 5000 Men then complete with its Field Artillery and Equipments.

Each of these Corps would of course be joined by the Militia not in Garrison of the Districts which would be the scene of its operations.

I would place the left of these Corps on the Irish Creek which falls into the Rideau River. From thence it could reach Montreal in four days and the Frontier of the Richelieu, and the Isle aux Noix in two more or Quebec in three supposing the Navigation to be made as perfect as I believe it may.

On the other hand it would reach Kingston in two or three days and Lake Simcoe in ten or twelve more from Kingston or in six or eight if the communication can be established by the Rideau and Black River.

The Right Corps consisting of 5000 Men with the Militia of the District in which it should carry on its operations should be posted on the communication between the Head of Hollands River which runs into Lake Simcoe and the Head of the Grand River which runs into Lake Erié.

If required at York it could arrive by the Trent in two or three days, if at Kingston it could arrive in six or eight days, if on the Niagara Frontier it could arrive by the Grand River and the Chippewa in from five to eight days according to the extent to which the former can be rendered navigable.

According to this system the Magazines and Stores of the Army and their points of retreat and safety will be far removed from the Frontier, from

the line of Defence and from the scene of operations at the same time that every point will be in greater security than it was in the Last War.

The ordinary communications will cost half the present expense, and a War in that country will with greater success not cost half what the last did.

As far as I can judge of the operations of any future War in these countries, from what took place in the last War I should say that an American Corps of strength and efficiency to contend with a Corps consisting of 5000 Regular Troops, and 3000 Militia and Indians, which is what I suppose these Corps would consist of would not be readily formed, and that if such a Force could be collected and put in operation its own size would distress it, and oblige it to retire from the country without effecting anything.

In the last War the Corps which penetrated further into the country was that which defeated General Proctor on the Thames near the Moravian Town. But this Corps which did not consist of more than 3000 Men did not quit the River Thames and did not advance above twenty miles from Lake St. Clair suffered extremely from want of provisions.

None of the others on either side excepting small plundering parties were ever five miles from their boats or from their respective Frontier.

In considering this system I have laid aside as altogether impracticable the notion of attack-

ing the United States on this Frontier. I have never yet seen any Plan of attack upon that Power which was at all likely to answer the purpose; but I am certain that an attack could not succeed made from this Frontier in which we are frozen up for five months of the year, and on which the enemy have and must continue to have the Naval superiority.

I have the honor to be &c.,

WELLINGTON.

ADDRESS

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, *G.C.B., Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, &c.*

The Quebec Literary and Historical Society apprised of Your Excellency's intention to embark immediately for Great Britain, begs leave to approach Your Excellency and to express the unfeigned attachment and respectful esteem which the members of this Society individually and collectively entertain for Your Excellency, its Patron and Founder.

To an ardent zeal to promote the best interests of these Provinces under your Excellency's more immediate protection and of British America in general; to a desire to cherish and call forth the rising energies of the Inhabitants of these valuable Colonies, to rescue from oblivion and to collect into one Focus all that relates to the early history and the natural productions of the Canadas; to trace the language and the origin of the several Tribes of Indians heretofore and yet inhabiting the vast continent of America, to your Excellency's love for polite Literature, combined with the Arts and Sciences this yet infant Society more immediately owes its origin: And from the highly munificent donation which your Excellency has bestowed

upon it, and your promise to bring this Institution under the favorable notice of His Majesty The King, to the end that he may be graciously pleased to sanction the name which it has assumed or to confer upon it, the honor of some more appropriate appellation, its future progress and importance are secured; and the sense of your Excellency's continued protection, will form the strongest incitement to perseverance on the part of the Society in the laudable objects for which it was instituted.

The Society trusting that the absence of your Excellency and amiable Countess from this Province will be but of short duration, and most anxiously desirous for your return to it, has to add its fervent wishes for your safe and prosperous voyage and a happy meeting with your kindred and friends in your Native Land.

Signed by Order of the Society,
FRANCIS BURTON,
Chairman.

QUEBEC, 31 May, 1824.

LETTERS OF LORD DALHOUSIE

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Earl Bathurst.*

Castle of St. Lewis,
QUEBEC, 27th October 1820.

My Lord,

I feel it my duty to bring under your Lordship's consideration the situation of the Governor of this Province in regard to his accommodation in House or place of residence, and I beg your Lordship to believe that my motives for so doing are solely of a public nature, little caring personally how or where I am lodged.

As Governor the Province provides the Castle of St. Lewis as the residence in Quebec, and a Government House at Montreal,—here I have no reason to complain except that I am altogether at the good will of the House of Assembly to allow of any repairs; at Montreal the Government House has long been uninhabitable. In Summer the great heat makes it impossible to remain in this House, or in Quebec at all, I must seek a shade somewhere, and there is not a possibility of hiring a place fit for a family. The Governors have usually retired to Wm. Henry on the King's Seigniory of Sorel, but that is so small that tents must be pitched for the accommodation of all the servants, and now it is in so wretched a state as to

be nearly tottering and must be expensively repaired. I take the opportunity therefore before going into that expense, to suggest that there are many powerful reasons to urge that a Military Quarter should be provided for the Commander of the Forces in this part of H.M. Dominions, it would therefore place His Majesty's Representative out of the reach of an Assembly disposed to be unaccommodating, it would enable him to maintain in the country that dignity and hospitality, which are expected in his station. It would place him at Sorel on the most proper post in a Military point of view, where the attack is most practicable, where the Army can be most easily assembled, and directed, most abundantly provided and where the daily steam boats and post from Quebec and Montreal, enable him to do the public business without delay, or inconvenience, even to individuals.

The present House at Sorel is a Field Officers' Quarter only. It did not allow me to ask the neighbouring gentlemen to visit me. It has no room for an Aide de Camp, none for my servants, no stable for my horses. It is placed upon a narrow reserved Lot of 150 yards in breadth, and upon right and left the land is occupied and cannot be got were it even worth the purchase. There is adjoining the Town of Wm. Henry a Domain of 300 acres reserved for the Crown, in every way calculated as a situation for the General Quarters. I would therefore my Lord earnestly solicit your

Lordship's recommendation to the Lords of H.M. Treasury that I may be permitted to cause a convenient house to be built there with small stabling, and out houses. From the best calculation I can make of the probable expense I do not think it would exceed £5,000, and that sum would be found in the estimates already approved for 1819 & 1820, in which I find many works either largely estimated, or not immediately so necessary to be executed.

It is needless for me perhaps to state to your Lordship, as an additional argument on this subject that in the mean way in which I was forced to live this Summer, I felt the station degraded, and am convinced that the diminished rank which the Governor is thus necessarily reduced to tends greatly to lower him in the opinion of the Canadian people.

I have &c.

DALHOUSIE.

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Sir James Kempt.*

Castle of St. Lewis,
QUEBEC, 3rd January 1821.

My dear Sir James,

I regret much to hear the reports from Halifax that you have already felt the severity of the cold, and I fear therefore that the after part of Winter

will tell harder still upon you. We have it now very intense indeed $\frac{0}{30}$, but inside the Chateau we are warm and comfortable.

I have felt nothing myself, but we have had a great deal of sickness in the house, and I am sorry to say I feel so uneasy about my young friend Schomberg Kerr, that I am going to pack him off directly to New York and home—he has been thin, and weak, and out of tune since September without any decided complaint, and now looks like a Ghost.

Our Parliamentary proceedings have been nearly at a standstill during the holidays, and the good temper of all parties appears to gain strength as our acquaintance grows. I have given the Speaker, an *ex officio* seat in the Executive Council, not to flatter or to coax that House, but from a conviction that he ought to know the intentions of Government as a Privy Counsellor—that the Governor ought to consult him on public measures—and that the Public should know that I am acting a frank, fair, and candid part with them, free from intrigue and free from guile. I think it a measure that will lead to unanimity in Council, and confidence in it which does not exist at present.

Will you do me the favour to ask Jeffray, what became of the boxes of stuffed birds I left in his care for England. My best compliments to him—as also to Judge Stewart, Halliburton, Wallace &c., &c.

Yours &c., &c.

DALHOUSIE

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to The Right Hon. Earl Bathurst, K.G.*

QUEBEC, 28th August 1821.

My Lord,

I beg leave to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a letter from the Chief Engineer in these Provinces accompanied by a sketch of the City of Quebec, the suburbs Works &c. and setting forth the necessity of purchasing on the part of Government, certain premises contiguous to, and which interfere with, the advanced defences of the place.

A reference to the plan—No copy of this plan in the Military Secretary's office—will point out to your Lordship the situation and extent of the premises in question, a part of which you will perceive would of necessity be occupied by field works should it be required to connect the Towers in the event of any attack upon the Town.

In the dispatch which was addressed to your Lordship by the late Commander of the Forces on the 11th August 1818, His Grace represented the necessity of Government becoming possessed of the ground laid out for Suburbs near to Cape Diamond, in order to prevent the erection of buildings too close to the works in that direction. This purchase has been made under the authority of Lords of the Treasury as communicated in your Lordship's dispatch of 25th May 1819 and will effectually prevent the inconvenience that was

to be apprehended from its falling into the hands of individuals.

As the same objection obtains with respect to the ground now under consideration, though somewhat further removed from the body of the place, I beg leave to express my entire concurrence in the opinion of Lt. Col. Durnford as to the propriety of our obtaining possession of the premises.

If the purchase be made immediately the whole may probably be had for about four thousand pounds—any delay in the transaction will greatly enhance the price, as the proprietors are making arrangements for conceding part of the premises in building lots. I therefore beg leave to recommend very strongly, that I should be authorised to purchase for Government such part of the ground marked green on the plan as may be likely to interfere with the defences of Quebec.

I have &c.,

DALHOUSIE,
Commander of the Forces.

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Earl Bathurst.*

QUEBEC, 12th July 1822.

My Lord,

Pursuant to the authority conveyed in your Lordship's letter of 31st December last for purchasing certain premises which I had represented in my dispatch of 28th August 1821 to be necessary for Government to be possessed of, with a view

to the defences of this place, I have the honor to acquaint your Lordship that of the lots marked *green* on the plan which accompanied my letter I have caused those lying between the Towers and in front of the Fortifications to be purchased for which the sum of seven thousand and twenty six pounds nine shillings Sterling has been paid by the Commissary General. The ground thus acquired contains in the whole about sixty five acres.

Independant of the foregoing purchase the Commanding Engineer has strongly urged the expediency of obtaining certain other small lots immediately at the foot of the glacis of the Citadel now constructing but as the demands of the proprietors appear to me altogether unreasonable I have declined acceding to the proposal. The situation of these lots does not render their immediate acquisition indispensable, although the regular slope of the glacis may meet with some interruption from the want of room sufficient to extend it in that direction.

I trust your Lordship will approve of what I have done on this occasion, in which I have been altogether *governed* by a consideration of the ultimate advantage that Government will derive from having this ground disposable which will at any time bring a price equal to that now paid for it.

I have &c.,

DALHOUSIE,
Commander of the Forces.

LETTER, *Col. Durnford to Col. Darling.*

Royal Engineer's Office.

QUEBEC, 16th Decr., 1824.

Sir,

Observing preparations are making to build several valuable dwelling houses, and that a considerable quantity of mining is already executed, adjacent to the Government Boundary on the North and West fronts of the New Works at the junction of St. Ursule and St. Denis Streets, which circumstances I consider highly detrimental to the Defences, and now prevent a determination being made on the necessary slopes to be given either to the Parapet or Glacis; I think it my indispensable duty to request you to introduce the subject to the consideration of His Excellency the Major General Commanding the Forces.

I have the honor to forward a plan, shewing the fronts of the new Fortification, especially affected by the circumstances above alluded to, and the various lots of land, that in my opinion require to be immediately procured by Arbitration, for Government purposes.

It cannot be expected that such property will ever be lower in value than at the present period, but when built upon and the streets regularly extended must become enormously enhanced.

I have drawn the proposed acquisition of

premises at the very nearest limit it is practicable to construct the Glacis, and which will only preserve the approaches clear to view, about one hundred yards from the body of the work.

I trust His Excellency will either sanction immediate steps to be taken to procure the extent of ground and buildings in question for Government, or that he will be pleased to address the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, and the Master General, and the Honorable Board of Ordnance upon the subject.

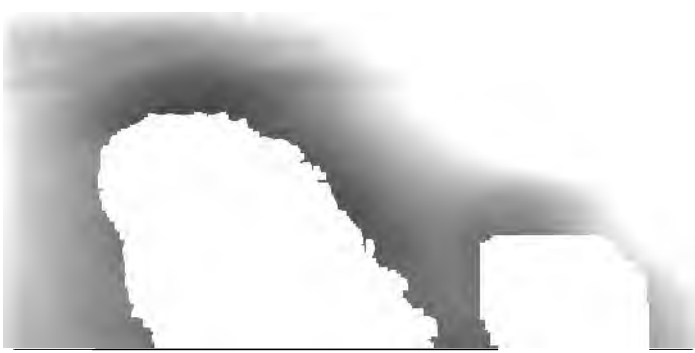
His Lordship the Commander of the Forces being now in England affords a very favorable opportunity of referring the matter home, should there be any doubt on the propriety of effecting the object, without such references.

With the approval of His Excellency I propose submitting copies of this report, and plan to General Mann the Inspector General of Fortifications.

I have &c., &c., &c.,

E. W. DURNFORD,

Comg. Royal Engineer, Canada.



MEMORANDUM *shewing the supposed value of the Lots of Ground &c. required for Government Service near the Citadel, with the Proprietors' names.*

Major Van Cortlandt's property as it now stands	£ 3,500 .–.–
Hon. Judge Sewell's property,—only a part at the south end, containing about 13,284 ft. at 2/—per sq. ft.	1,328. 8.–
Mr. Clapham's property & House at the south end	2,500. –.–
Hon. Mr. Smith's only a part of his property at south end, containing about 6050 ft. at 2/—per square foot	605. –.–
Hon. Mr. Irvine's property only the part at the south end containing about 17,550 ft. at 2/—per sq. foot	1,755. –.–
Mr. John Cannon's property containing about 9375 feet at 2/—per sq. foot	937.10.–
Mr. Joseph Petitclaire's property and a two storey new House	1,800. –.–
Mr. Gabriel Petitclaire's property forming two lots	1,400. –.–
Mr. Charles Petitclaire's property—one lot	700. –.–
Mr. Pierre Le Vasseur's property—one lot	700. –.–
Mr. Pierre Marson's property—one lot.	700. –.–
Currency	£15,925.18.0
Army Sterling	£14,788 .6.8¾

Amounting to Fifteen thousand, nine hundred and twenty five pounds eighteen shillings Currency—

or, Fourteen thousand seven hundred and eighty eight pounds six shillings and eight pence, three farthings Army Sterling.

E. W. DURNFORD, Lt. Colonel,
Comg. R. Eng.

LETTER, *The Earl of Dalhousie to Sir James Kempt.*

QUEBEC, 22nd November 1827.
Thursday.

My dear Sir James,

In the hurry of business I catch at a leisure moment to-day, on the arrival of the Halifax Mail, to tell you that we are stuck fast on the threshold of business. On Tuesday the Parliament met, yesterday they presented Papineau as Speaker and in usual form was refused by me. The Commons were desired to return and choose another person and present him to-morrow (Friday) at 2 p.m. On return to their House, they passed a resolution that The King's approbation was not at all necessary and confirmed their own choice. To-day the House meets and intends to pass some violent resolutions, but to-morrow at 2 p.m. I shall direct the Chief Justice to declare the Parliament prorogued, before the Speaker elect is permitted to announce the persistance of the Commons in their choice.

My Precedents for proceeding are taken from Hatsell 1727, on the Speech of Sir — Onslow, and from the Proceedings under Sir John Wentworth at Halifax in 1806,—Also from Massachusetts in 1720, and from Charles 2nd, 1678. My Executive and Legislative Councils are unanimous in cordial support of these measures, as also the Chief Justice, Attorney and Solicitor General and here the matter shall go home to be decided by Superior Powers.

Nothing can be said on all this, but that Papineau commands the whole Canadian Representatives and that the Individual members, whether from ignorance or party feeling, have wholly resigned themselves to the will and bidding of the seditious Demagogue. Here I sincerely hope will be an end of Parliament in this Province, until the Imperial Parliament shall re-consider and compare the Speeches of Pitt and Fox with the experience we now have of 36 years of practice.

Last week I laid the foundation of a very magnificent column to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, and I enclose you a copy of the ceremony for the sake of Dr. Mills' prayer, which has been highly admired. The Column will stand eminently conspicuous over the river, seen by every vessel that approaches the harbour, about 65 feet on a precipice of at least 300, and backed by some lofty trees and shrubbery—the situation will add prodigiously to the Monument. Public subscription has been very liberal and promise more.—I hope to finish my work, and with it all my labours here in June next.

With my kindest compliments and regards to all around you, the Chief Justice, Wallace &c., &c., &c.

Believe me, Ever yours most sincerely,

DALHOUSIE.

P.S.—It has just been determined by the Chief Justice and Attorney General to prorogue the Parliament this evening by Proclamation or Writ under the Seal.

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Earl Bathurst.*

LONDON, 11th May 1825.

My Lord,

Before I left Quebec I was entrusted with a duty which I have not as yet ventured to perform from a feeling that other matters of public concern were entitled to my more immediate attention. As these have now been all brought under your Lordship's consideration, I beg you will permit me to lay the enclosed printed paper before you —it contains the Rules of a Society formed last year in Canada, and states very shortly the objects in view.

It gives me great pleasure to assure your Lordship that the proposal to form this Society was received by men of the highest respectability in all parts of the Canadas, with a warmth of feeling that gave perfect confidence in its future

success, and I have not the smallest doubt but that it will in time prove to be a most useful Institution.

At the first General Meeting I was deputed to solicit the high honour of His Majesty's Patronage. I am afraid I should not be justified by form in taking such a step, and I therefore beg leave to place the request in your Lordship's protection to obtain for us that Gracious mark of His Majesty's approbation.

At that General Meeting there was but one point upon which any difference of opinion was expressed and that was as to the style and name of the Society. Some members wished that it should be styled "The Quebec Literary and Historical Society"; others, that it should be more general "The Literary and Historical Society of Canada" but that point was reserved to be decided by such title as His Majesty shall be pleased to give to it.

I shall be happy to give your Lordship any further information which you may desire upon it; at present I will only express my most ardent desire to promote the views of this Society from the conviction that it will tend to advance sentiments of cordiality, feelings of public spirit, and a general co-operation of the best informed men in the Canadas, thus spreading a most beneficial influence over every source which can lead to the happiness and prosperity of the Country entrusted to my care.

I have the honour &c., &c.

DALHOUSIE.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC

In calling the attention of the Public to the "Literary and Historical Society of Quebec", we are relieved from the task of exordium on the general utility of such Institutions. That is so universally established, that every civilised State, with which we are acquainted has hastened to plant the Tree of knowledge in its own sod, and has invited the enlightened portion of its people to co-operate in fostering its growth to maturity.

Endeavouring to give to Literature in this Province a corporate character and representation, by the formation of a Literary and Historical Society at the seat of Government, it behooves us, shortly, to place before the Public the objects we seek to attain the certainties which serve to encourage our perseverance, and the advantages which we ardently anticipate from the prosperity of this Institution.

"The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec" owes its origin to the patriotic feeling and anxiety for the honor, welfare and interest of the Province, which characterise the present Governor in Chief. The Committee, animated by a similar spirit, and anxious to accomplish the same patriotic views have already proposed for

the approbation of the Public at large, such means and regulations as appeared to them best calculated to carry into effect the purposes of the Society, and to guard the intentions of its Founder and Patron from misapprehension and abuse.

Although it is intended that this Society shall hereafter embrace every object of Literary interest and inquiry—it has been considered expedient at present, and during its infancy, to confine our researches to the investigation of points of History, immediately connected with the Canadas. To procure and furnish the complete annals of the country may never be in our power; but we are persuaded it will soon be found within our reach to illustrate the most remarkable epochs of our history, and to place in strong relief their most interesting and singular details. It is conceived that the early History of Canada abounds in materials, full of striking descriptions and romantic situations. The very circumstance of civilisation transplanted from the old world, superseding the indigenous barbarism of the natives, and yet remaining long enough in contact with it to acquire even some degree of respect for the rude Tribes it subdued or converted, seems to present a strange and remarkable contrast, capable of exciting the utmost curiosity and interest.

The first and particular objects, therefore, of this Society will naturally be.—To discover, and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the records which yet remain of the earliest History of Canada.

To preserve, while in our power, such documents as may be found amid the dust of yet unexplored depositories; and which may prove important to general history, and to the particular history of this Province—documents valuable as regards the present and the future, and perhaps, still more interesting to our Inhabitants, as respects the decaying Indian Tribes, than any other object of enquiry.

The next and more general objects of this Society will be—To promote every means of discovering, collecting and procuring whatever information may throw light on the early Natural, Civil and Literary History of the British Provinces in North America. To further, by assistance from our funds when practicable, the translation and in some cases the publication of valuable Manuscripts, or scarce books, relating thereto, which may be discovered in any private or public collection: and, to encourage and reward such discoveries by every means in our power.

The objects which remain to be stated, are—To read at the general meetings of the society such papers on the subject above mentioned, as shall have been communicated by Members, and previously approved of by the Committee of management; and to make from these papers such a selection as it may hereafter become expedient to print as "The Transactions of the Society".

We are greatly encouraged in our undertaking by the belief, nay, almost by the certainty, that

there does yet exist a mass of manuscript and printed documents, scattered through the country, in the possession of various religious bodies and of private persons, or thrown aside, utterly useless and uncared for, in the chests of Public offices. We cannot entertain a doubt, but such religious bodies and individuals will cheerfully contribute their assistance towards promoting the objects of this Society, by affording such documents for examination, and if necessary, for transcript.

We are also encouraged by the benefits to be derived from the innumerable Institutions of a similar nature in other countries, which have gone before us. We have the advantage of many Institutions of Learning already existing among us, of many men in the number of our citizens who are entitled to be called Learned; and above all, we have the powerful, the irresistible stimulus of an ardent and patriotic desire to imitate in this Colony the glorious example of the mother country.

The beneficial effects to be rationally anticipated from the prosperity of such a Society require no exaggerated description. It must strike every one that our objects are most desirable in themselves, inasmuch as they combine propagation of knowledge with the gratification of laudable curiosity; and the Augustan Poet who has so well extolled the union of the useful with the agreeable could not have contemplated any pursuit in which these qualities are more essentially combined than in Literature and History.

Whether we regard the prosperity of this Institution in a National or in a Literary point of view, its advantages are equally apparent, and most come home to every bosom. It will raise us in the moral and intellectual scale of nations. It will cherish our noblest feelings of honor and patriotism, by showing that the more men become acquainted with the history of their country, the more they prize and respect both their country and themselves. In a Literary point of view, it is fair to expect that the formation of this Society will introduce a lasting bond of union and correspondence between men, eminent for rank, erudition, and genius, from one extremity of the British Provinces to the other.

With these views, then we invite men of Learning and Taste to join us, and conclude by soliciting the assistance and co-operation of a liberal and enlightened Public, in the prosecution of a cause which may, in so many ways, conduce to the advancement of historical knowledge, and consequently, to the honor and ornament of this Province.

1824.

OFFICERS
OF THE
LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF QUEBEC
for the current year

FOUNDER AND PATRON,
His Excellency, the Rt. Honble.
GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE, G.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

PRESIDENT:
His Excellency the Honble.
Sir FRANCIS NATHANIEL BURTON, K.C.G.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:
The Honble. The Chief Justice
VALLIERES DE ST. REAL, Esqr.

RECORDING SECRETARY
WILLIAM GREEN, Esqr.
TREASURER AND CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:
JOHN CHARLTON FISHER, Esqr. LL.D.

JOINT MONUMENT TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM

CEREMONY ON LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF WOLFE'S AND MONTCALM'S PILLAR

15, NOVEMBER 1827

When we termed the ceremony of laying the first stone of this Monument an interesting and imposing scene, we only expressed the feeling universally acknowledged to prevail in the minds of the spectators. That seventy years should have nearly elapsed, without this well merited tribute to the success and military virtue of these two Heroes being paid to them by Posterity in this Province, must be attributed to the circumstances of a gradually rising Colony, whose attention to embellishment and the Arts can only be expected after years of prosperity, peace, and the accumulation of riches. Rome had been long victorious, before its heroes and patriots had leisure to adorn its Forum, with those edifices, whose magnificent remains are now the admiration of every beholder. Pericles, having enriched his country by years of prosperous administration, civil and military, betook himself to the embellishment of his native City. The family De Medici, did not excel in Arts, nor contribute to the classic riches of Florence, until a long course of commercial enterprise and success had elevated them from

Merchants to the rank of Princes. So it has been in all ages, that the Arts, as well as the Laws, have been silent during periods of war or commotion, nor has their voice been listened to, but under circumstances, when the human mind, withdrawn from the turmoil of active collision, has sought repose in the charming studies which elegant ease alone enables men to pursue with steadiness and effect. Even among our immediate neighbors, the people of the United States, it is only within very few years that any public tribute, or classical memorial, has been thought of, to testify the common admiration of the world, directed to the memory of Washington. The chisel of Canova, and the hand of Chantrey have only still more lately been employed on a national work of this kind. Indeed, there seems to be something of morbid feeling, in this propensity of mankind to neglect public tokens of gratitude to great men.

Qui sui memores alias fecêre merendo.

During the age which witnessed their deeds, and benefitted most by their services. It is the consciousness of this fact, which has directed the views of illustrious men more to the certainty of posthumous fame, than to present celebrity and popular applause. And this feeling is part of the divine inspiration, that immortal spirit, which more or less is the animating principle of great souls; but which the grosser impressions of mankind, in the main envious and detracting, have derogated by calling ambition. Rewards, there-

fore, of a purely classical nature have generally been conferred by posterity; and the experience of ages has demonstrated, that as there is nothing more honorable to the age which confers them, so there is nothing more lasting than the Fame, perpetuated by these monuments. Well, indeed, did the Poet feel this truth, and it must be given in his own language to have its full effect, when he prophetically enumerated,

Incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem Ducibus.

On this occasion, the presence of Mr. Thompson, the venerable companion in arms of Wolfe, was a connecting link between the age which witnessed his glory, and that which now erects a Monument to his Fame—while one here remained who fought with him, that age was not quite extinct—the next has taken charge of the deposit, and pledged itself to its sacred keeping by the cememony which we have now to detail.

The Garrison was formed in double line facing inwards, their right reaching to the foot of the Glacis, as has been before stated, and their left near the Chateau Guard House. The Masonic Procession, with Claude Denechau Esq. Right Worshipful Grand Master, at their head, the Officers comprising the Grand Lodge in full masonic costume, the Merchants and Freres du Canada, the Sussex and the St. Andrew's Lodges, reached the Chateau, preceded by the Band of the 66th Regi-

ment; and entering the lower Garden through the Chateau Yard, lined each side of the principal walk, through which the Countess of Dalhousie, attended by Lady Noel Hill, Mrs. Sewell, Mrs. Gore and other Ladies, reached the platform of the Battery. In the meantime His Excellency the Governor in Chief, attended by the Chief Justice, the Lord Bishop, the Committee, and the Staff, entered the Garden by the Gate, having passed through the avenue of Troops from the Chateau, receiving the usual honours His Excellency, having first conducted Lady Dalhousie to a station more convenient for witnessing the ceremony, placed himself in front of the Stone, and in a clear and audible tone, spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Committee, we are assembled upon an occasion most interesting to this country—if possible more so to this city—We are met to lay the Foundation of a Column in honor of two illustrious men, whose deeds and whose fall have immortalized their own names and placed Quebec in the rank of cities famous in the history of the world.

Before, however, we touch the first stone, let us implore the blessing of Almighty God upon our intended work".

The Revd. Dr. Mills, Chaplain to the Forces, then offered up the following prayer.

PRAYER

O Almighty Lord of Heaven and Earth! without whose blessing no work of man can prosper, look

down, we beseech Thee, with an eye of favour upon this our undertaking. We know, O Lord! that, unless Thou buildest the fabric, their labour is but lost that built it; and therefore we humbly pray, that this Column, which we are about to erect in honour of those distinguished Warriors, whose names it is destined to bear, may transmit their Fame to distant ages, uninjured by flood or by flame, unseathed by the Thunder's rending bolt, or the mining shock of the Earthquake. May no assault of foreign foe, no dangerous division within our walls, loosen one stone from the structure; but may it long—long rear its head in simple majesty, the brightest gem and ornament of our city.

It hath pleased Thee, O Lord! in thy good Providence, in a great degree to tranquillize the world; there is a great calm in the Universe: Thou hast said to the desolating tide of human Warfare —"Peace, be still; hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed!" We pray, O Lord! most humbly and heartily do we pray,—that this happy state of things may continue and abound more and more, till—every source of discord dried up—every jarring interest harmonised—the heavenly influence of the glorious Gospel—that Charter of Love and Mercy to the whole human race—be universally "Peace on earth, good will toward men", which ushered in the Nativity of the Saviour, find a ready echo in every bosom; and the blessed time

at length arrive, when the sword shall be turned into the plow-share, and the spear into the pruning hook—when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But of this hour—now seen afar off only in indistinct vision, knoweth no man: In the meantime O Lord! the wrath of man shall praise Thee, while the reminder of wrath it is—and will be—thy province to restrain.

Meanwhile also, O Lord! we humbly hope and trust, that we are not forbidden to pray, even amidst all the pomp and glitter of military parade, by which we are surrounded, in behalf of these our Brethren—with an anxious concern for their honour as Soldiers, while we feel for their salvation as Men—that the great Examples of the illustrious dead, whom we this day hold out as patterns for their imitation, may now and ever be regarded by them with an ardent desire to emulate their worth. Yes! Soldiers, Friends, and Brethren we implore the God of Armies, that should the battle once more be set in array against you, you may—each of you—buckle on your harness, in humble—yet well-grounded—confidence in the Divine protection with no terrors of an evil conscience to appal you in the hour of peril—no besetting sin to unnerve your arm, and render it powerless in the conflict. Thus prepared—thus strengthened with might by the spirit in the inner man—should you fall, my Brethren! you will fall in glory; you will look forward, with the eye of faith, beyond the grave, to

a brighter crown—a fairer wreath, than Monarchs can bestow; and this Faith, triumphant over death and all its agonies, will enable you, more than anything else, to evince, even amidst the severest struggles of expiring Nature, the same heroic Resignation, the same loyal devotedness to your King, and glowing attachment to your Country which blazed forth—like the Sun's last flash before its setting—with such unextinguishable lustre, in the breasts of these departed Warriors.

Grant, O Lord! of Thine infinite Mercy grant, that such, wherever duty calls them, may be the genuine feelings of British Soldiers; that their Patriotism, their Loyalty and their Valour, may be founded upon Religion as the best and surest basis: and with these feelings deeply rooted in our own breasts, let us pray for our Country—all great and glorious as she is—assured that they that love her shall prosper. Peace be within her walls and plenteousness within her palaces. For our brethren and companions' sakes, we will wish her prosperity. And seeking—and not seeking only, but striving to do her good and to advance her glory by every means in our power, do Thou, O God! prosper the work of our hands upon us: O prosper Thou our handywork! Amen and Amen".

Captain Melnuish, R.E. then deposited gold, silver and copper coins of the present reign, in a cavity prepared in the foundation stone, over which a plate with the following inscription, by the Rev. Dr. Mills, was firmly rivetted.

Hunc Lapidem
Monumenti in Memoriam
Virorum Illustrium
WOLFE ET MONTCALM
Fundamentum
P. C.
Georgius Comes De Dalhousie,
In Septentrionalis Americæ Partibus
Ad Britannos Pertinentibus
Summam Rerum Administrans;
Opus Per Multos Annos Præ termissum,
(Quid Duci Egregio Convenientius ?)
Auctoritate Promovens, Exemplo Stimulans,
Munificentiâ Fovens.
Die Novembris XVâ.
A. S. MDCCCXXVII
Georgio IV Britanniarum Rege.

The ceremony finished, as we stated on Thursday, with a feu de joie from the Garrison, after which the Garrison presented Arms, the Band playing the National Air. Three British Cheers then rent the air, given by the Troops and spectators to the memory of British Valour, and French Gallantry. The Troops on their return to their Barracks passed the Commander in Chief in review order, which concluded the ceremonies of the day.

WOLFE

The following is Smollett's character of General Wolfe: at the present moment its re-perusal may be interesting to our Readers.

> "The death of General Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervor of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave, above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier: there was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would without doubt have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity".

WOLFE'S TACTICS

(*By the Editor*)

An important historical letter, written by Wolfe to Monckton—his second in command—, dealing with his operations at Quebec in 1759, was auctioned at London, on July 14th 1924. The letter shows Wolfe's masterly grasp of detail, his high courage, and sense of responsibility when deciding on where he was to attack Quebec.

The letter was written a few days before the "Battle of the Plains", and was the last letter written by Wolfe; closing with the following words*:

> "I had the honour to inform you today, that it is my duty to attack the French Army to the best of my knowledge and abilities; I have fixed upon the spot ("Taelon") where we can act with most force, and are most likely to succeed:—if I am mistaken, I am sorry for it, and must be answerable to his Majesty and the publick for the consequences"

Wolfe's letter to Monckton indicates that when he had found a possible point of attack near Quebec where he was able to concentrate most force, at a point where he had no reason to believe the

* This last letter of Wolfe's, is given in full in "The Siege of Quebec", by Dr. A. G. Doughty.

French had any knowledge of, he decided to act promptly. It seems proven that Montcalm also had recognized this place as most dangerous, and with his military knowledge and acumen had placed his well disciplined French soldiers, to guard against Wolfe reaching the upper level, by scaling the Cliff at *the only feasible place near Quebec*, and which these two great Generals knew to be the weakest point in the defence of Quebec:—better, it may be presumed—than it is possible to determine now; even when standing on the actual Battle-field—as time has so changed the entire surroundings, from what they were, over one hundred and fifty years before, that one cannot judge as clearly today, as those two opposing Commanders had judged, both of whom regarded "the Plains" near Quebec, as *the place* where the destiny of Canada would be decided.

When we recall, that the entire district surrounding Quebec was in those days, covered with dense forest, with only two poor roads cut through the woods, and that the French forces were in control of all the Quebec shore, from the Montmorency river at the East, to Pointe aux Trembles —twenty-five miles to the West of Quebec,—with French troops there and at Montreal, with his great antagonist Montcalm in the strong-hold of Quebec. Can we deem it wise for any Commander —under such circumstances—to endeavour to establish his forces at Pointe aux Trembles, (where even small boats cannot reach the shore, except

when the tide is high, and where the beach is strewn with immense boulders—plainly visible to this day—which render the passage extremely dangerous, even during daylight.) Placing his army between the enemy forces, subject to simultaneous attack on both sides hemmed in with heavy woods, the Jacques-Cartier river, and the St-Lawrence:—away from any support from the Fleet, he surely would be in a most hazardous position, and very possibly have been defeated.

Wolfe's Tactics, in having the vessels, carrying his troops and guns, sail up the river as if going to Pointe aux Trembles, evidently deceived the French Governor,—Vaudreuil, who ordered the withdrawal of the trained French troops, that were specially placed by Montcalm to guard the Cliff, thus leaving the ascent to the heights undefended by trained men, and before Montcalm could retrieve the error made by Vaudreuil, Wolfe had reached the Plains, with men and guns, and Quebec—the *Key to Canada*, was won by British Arms, in the "Battle of the Plains".

It should not be necessary to detract from the honour, or fame of either of these eminent men, in the attempt to exalt the other:—let us more worthily, continue to honour and esteem the Brave Dead, to whose memory a joint—monument has been erected at Quebec, to ever recall the friendship existing between the two great Nations, represented in the past by two such worthy and unsullied men: Wolfe and Montcalm!

The following is an extract, from the address by Lord Dalhousie, on laying the foundation of the "Joint-Monument" erected to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, on the 15th of November 1827:

> "Gentlemen of the Committee, we are assembled on an occasion most interesting to this Country, and if possible, even more interesting to this City:—We are met to lay the foundation of a column in honour of two illustrious men, whose deeds and whose fall, have immortalized their own names, and placed Quebec in the rank of Cities famous in the history of the world".

The following is an extract from a letter, dated 22nd November 1827 to Sir James Kempt, from Lord Dalhousie:

> "Last week I laid the foundation of a very magnificent Column, to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, and I enclose you a copy of the Ceremony..... The Column will stand eminently conspicuous over the river, seen by every vessel that approaches the harbour, about 65 feet high, on a precipice of at least 300 feet, backed by some trees and shrubbery:—the situation will add prodigiously to the Monument".

NEWSPAPER CUTTING
The *Star and Commercial Advertiser*
Saturday, 10th May, 1828

ANECDOTE OF WOLFE'S ARMY

Landing at Louisbourg, and incidents previous thereto, as related by one of the Grenadier Company of Fraser's Highlanders who was a Volunteer in that service.

Our Regiment, which was only just formed, rendez-voued at Cork, there to embark for service, somewhere in North America. We did not know where. The transport our Company was embarked in was called the "Martello", a beautiful new ship, this was her first voyage. The Captain did not know her trim, and the first few days after our sailing, she would run away from the Commodore in no time, in spite of our shortning sail, and for this high offence, which the Captain could not help, we had frequently a shot fired after us, to make the ship keep under the wing of the Commodore,—this, however, did no further mischief than subject the Captain to a fine of 6/8d. for each shot. One day we had a fine stiff breeze, and our ship actually outsailed the whole of the Fleet, although only under bare poles,—When the Commodore saw this, he found that it was no fault of the Captain's and he made him pay no more 6/8ds for shot. The ship was so tight that

she did not require pumping the whole of the voyage, which was a lucky circumstance indeed. We at last discovered the Commodore's signal for the whole of the Fleet to heave to, and when we had done this as cleverly as we could, the next signal was for Commanding Officers of Corps to go on board the Commodore's ship.—This was to make known our destination, and to receive orders accordingly. We were not long without knowing that we were bound to Halifax, as good luck would have it, the Fleet all arrived safe. Soon after we had cast our anchor, the Captain was anxious to try the lightness of our ship, and gave orders to have her pumped, the men had much difficulty in getting the pumps to draw, and when at last the water came, it was as black as my bonnet, and produced such a stench, that it would soon have poisoned all the men on board,—it happened that instead of pumping out, they were obliged to pump in, to prevent the Troops getting sick. When we arrived at Halifax, we learned our Commander in Chief General Wolfe was there, busily employed drilling away the men, and making them fight sham battles at a place round the town called Deptford where the ground is flat. We were not long lying at Halifax when we received orders to set sail for the River St. Lawrence and in a few days we came to anchor opposite the Harbour of Louisbourg, which we knew it was our business to try and take. When all the troops were got into the flat bottomed boats that the General had

provided at Halifax, and which we brought along with us, we presently after saw the signal from the General's barge which was between us and the land, to push off towards shore,—now as our Grenadier Company was very strong, we were so closely packed together, that there was only room to stand up excepting in the back part of the boat where the Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers contrived to sit down on the stern sheets, and this left no room for rowing, but we were taken in tow by a boat from a 74 and commanded by a Lieutenant whose name I could never get at-all this time the French were peppering us from a six Gun Battery on the heights with canister shot, and musket balls fired from 24 pounders!—they came whistling about our ears nothing could be like it, and as our ships of War kept up a fire upon the Batteries to cover our landing, there was a terrible hullaballoo! one 24 pound shot did us a great deal of mischief; it passed under my hams and killed Sergeant McKenzie who was sitting as close to my left as he could squeeze, and it carried away the basket of his broad-sword which, along with the shot, passed through Lieutenant Cuthbert who was on McKenzie's left, and tore his body into shivers, and also cut off both the legs of one of the two fellows that held the tiller of the boat, who lost an astonishing quantity of blood and died with the tiller grasped tight in his hand!—after doing all this mischief, the shot stuck fast in the stern-post—although this shot did not touch

me, yet all over the hams of my thighs and the calves of my legs were affected, and became as black as my hat, and for some weeks I suffered a good deal of pain, but that was nothing, what affected me most was the loss of my Captain, poor fellow, who was my best friend, and for whose sake I volunteered to come away from Scotland—Captain Baillie!—he was also in the boat, on the side opposite to me, and as he merely leaned over his head in a gentle manner upon the shoulder of the man next to him, I had no idea that he had been touched, but merely that it was to avoid the shot that was coming so thick upon us, and so thought the other man also, but he was struck mortally and expired without the least struggle! Whilst we were in this sad predicament I had my eye on the boat that was towing us, anxious that she should get us forward as fast as possible when I observed a fellow fumbling some time at the painter of our boat, without my knowing what he was at, but at last he takes a clasp-knife out of his pocket, and cut the rope, and away the boat went, leaving us as a mark for the French Batteries to fire at—this, I suppose was because they were losing their own men also—as good luck would have it, our situation was soon noticed by one of our Frigates, from which two boats were sent to our relief, and into which we embarked and had no sooner left our flat-bottomed vessel than she sank down to the gunnel, which was caused by the men withdrawing their plaids from out of the

shot holes into which they had thrust them whenever we were struck between wind and water—the weight of the shot that stuck in her, also helped a good deal to sink her—in this state she was towed alongside the Frigate, and I understood was hoisted aboard and taken home to England as a great curiosity, for she was completely riddled with shot holes, and yet nearly a bucketful of musket balls and other small shot was taken out of her—had there been any other Troops than Highlanders in our situation, they must have gone to the bottom, for want of such a ready means of plugging up the shot holes as we carried about us in our plaids. One poor fellow suffered exceeding great pain which distressed us all, he was the right hand man of the Company, he received a shot in the thigh, which immediately swelled up to the highness of his body, the idea was that the shot was poisoned, the poor devil bawl'd out the whole time that the boat was towing towards the Frigate, and when they were going to put him in the slings to hoist him on board his agony was so great, that he expired on the gunnel of the boat! Well, as I was relating to you about the landing, we were put into fresh boats and under the covering-fire of our ships of War, we at last got landed on the west side of the Town, although we were nearly swamp'd in the surf and we had to wait a considerable time, until some axe-men were got to cut a passage for us through the abattis that lined the beach for about three miles long, to

oppose our landing. With a great deal of difficulty we got to the top of the rock, and on our way to join the main Army, we came to the Battery that did us so much mischief, but it was deserted, there was only one man found, and he had his head carried away, yet he held firm hold of a lighted lint-stock which one of our Highlanders tried in vain to force out of his grasp. Our Fleet, as it seemed to me from the high shore made a noble appearance, and looked as if the bowsprit of every one was made fast to the stern of the next to it, they stretched across the whole Harbour.

NOTE:—This is the style, phrase, and very words of old Thompson in Quebec now in his 90th year; he was a Sergeant in Fraser's Highlanders under Wolfe, and has recounted to me many such stories, with astonishing recollection and accuracy of detail.

"D"

May 1828.

THE LARGEST VESSEL IN THE WORLD

Built in Quebec in 1824. "On the 21st day of July 1824, the four masted vessel *Columbus*, was launched from the Ship-yard at the Island of Orleans—in the Harbour of Quebec—and said to be the largest ship ever built—(at that date). The *Columbus* measured 301 feet 6 inches in length, and 50 feet 7 inches in width; with a depth of 29 feet 4 inches.

This vessel is to have a crew of ninety men, and is expected to carry 9,000 tons of freight. The largest vessel in the English Navy was then said, to have a keel measurement of about 210 feet.

Camouflaged Vessel, 1916.

UEBEC.

Route,

YOy, and with the greatest possible Sers on your Route—who are required respectively, together with the Time is given; And the Courier will himseILL, at which there is no Post Mastelumn, and Certified by the next Post hereof you are not to fail.

eputy-Post-Master-General.

D

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UNIQUE QUEBEC

UNIQUE QUEBEC

A *VADE-MECUM*
for VISITING FELLOWS *of the*
ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA
and
MEMBERS *of the* CANADIAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BY
WILLIAM WOOD
F.R.S.C.

With the Compliments of the
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec
1924

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LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

A GREETING TO THE R.S.C. AND C.H.A.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, now celebrating its Centennial year, welcomes the Royal Society of Canada and the Canadian Historical Association with this little summary of those first, or last, or only things which have combined of make Quebec unique, not merely in the Province, the Dominion, or even the Empire itself, but, on several great occasions, in the world. Designed for the personal use of Fellows, Members, and their friends, this paper claims no other real distinction except that which it must derive from being addressed to such an audience of the fit, though few. But, strange to say, it also seems to enjoy the distinction of being the sole attempt that has ever been made to select, arrange, and incidentally explain what really is unique in this old City of Quebec—to the complete exclusion of everything, however important, that is not unique.

UNIQUE QUEBEC

BY

WILLIAM WOOD

F.R.S.C.

We all know the proverbial tourist so aptly satirised by C.S.C.

> Round go the paddle wheels;
> And now the tourist feels
> As he should.

Well, average tourists are still the same; except, indeed, that, since ultra-modern tourists revel in a rapidity of locomotion unknown to C.S.C., they get an even more gloriously blurred impression of all they hurry past, but never really see, feel, know, or understand. For these the usual guidebook is simply forced to provide the usual fare, cut off into lengths suitable for purchasers and super-abundantly sweetened to taste. Moreover, it supplies the most appropriate kind of ready-made criticism, by carefully mentioning the supposed market value of everything civilised enough to be worth special mention in the language of dollars and cents.

But Quebec has other visitors: "the fit, though few" that really do see, and feel, and know, and even understand; the fit though few that reap the harvest of a quiet eye among those many scenes of "Nature's old felicities" which throne and which encircle this New-World queen of stronghold cities; the fit though few that also can

appreciate what man has done to make her quite unique.

For these her story is, of course, an open book —or, at least, a book they all know how to open and to read. Therefore I do not presume to attempt even the most condensed epitome of Quebec's long and very complex story here. The humbler purpose of my little paper is simply to put before you a convenient little catalogue of those few compelling facts which have made Quebec unique in French, British, Canadian, American, and even world-wide history. Most of these facts belong to the past. But some are still so full of life that they are bound to be prime factors in more than one great problem of the future.

Needless, I hope, to say that, since even catalogues of barest facts may suffer from perversion, I try to compile this little one in the spirit of an impartial historian who takes an interest in all sides. Needful, however, to repeat that "unique" here means whatever is either the first, or the last, or the only thing of its kind in at least the history of Canada. Perhaps my net has taken some small fry. Yet there must be something well worth while in any comprehensive haul made out of such a teeming sea; for I fish the Province, as well as the City, whenever the subject seems to warrant it. Therefore I venture to lay it all before you now, conveniently sorted into the following five lots: I. FORERUNNERS OF THE R.S.C., II. CHURCH. III. STATE. IV. WAR. V. MISCELLANEOUS.

I. FORERUNNERS OF THE R.S.C.

This may well seem an unduly grandiose title; and one that should not, in any case, be applied to a mere city, or even a province, in connection with our Royal Society, which draws its life from the whole Dominion. And I of course admit that Quebec may be provincial, and provincial-minded too, as well as proudly Provincial, with a capital P, and a glorious history of her own. But our present theme is not concerned with the common human failings that all communities must have, nor with the special petty failings that every small community must develop in its own small way; while it is concerned with all those first, or last, or only things which have somehow made Quebec unique during certain curious phases of her intellectual life.

And might I kindly be excused for adding that there is one Provincial venture in the intellectual life of present-day Quebec which the Province hopes will never be unique? This venture is the official establishment of substantial money prizes for works of special merit produced by its own Provincials. In this connection I should

likewise add that works in English are offered a rather higher proportion of these prizes than a meticulous anxiety for "Rep-by-Pop" would warrant. Thus, when I talk of our "five centuries" you will perhaps admit the present one, on sufferance, with the rest.

Our Royal Society still has some years to live before it celebrates its jubilee. But the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was founded more than one whole century ago; and, though it is the senior learned society in the whole of the British Empire overseas, yet the junior of its own forerunners in Quebec was older than the R.S.C. is now when the "Lit." itself was born. Nor is this all. There was a learned society in Quebec under the French régime; and one, moreover, that was trying to do then very much the same sort of work that our own scientific sections are doing now. This third and last of our regularly organized forerunners would, if still alive, be more than four times as old as our own forty-two years of age.

But if we reckon, as perhaps we may, two very remarkable sets of men as being also true forerunners of those who live the intellectual life to-day, though neither set was organized into any kind of society such as the R.S.C., then our Quebec forerunners can be traced back, fourthly, to those leaders of New France who, like Frontenac, knew the intellectual life of Old France two centuries and a half ago, and, fifthly, to those still earlier leaders, like Champlain and the Jesuits, who, on

either side of just three centuries ago, wrote books, which, had we then existed, would certainly have qualified their authors for election to the R.S.C.

Let me now submit a few justifying details to prove Quebec unique on every one of these five counts.

(1). The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec (commonly called the "Lit.") was founded on the 6th of January, 1824, by Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-in-chief, who, in the previous year, had asked both French- and English- speaking leaders "to join efforts with me in the formation of a Society, not entirely 'Antiquarian' but Historical rather and Canadian..... Why should not we attempt something.....likely to prove interesting to our country when our time has passed away?.....Our meetings may embrace Literature, Science, Education.....Our hall of meeting shall be in one of the rooms of the old Château until a better can be found". Dalhousie's own subscription was four hundred dollars a year. The Society also "experienced the liberality of the Provincial Legislature", off and on, down to the end of the nineteenth century, chiefly on the understanding that the money should be spent on the publication of appropriate archives. Another society "for the encouragement of Arts and Sciences in Canada" was subsequently founded. But in 1829 this was amalgamated with the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, which, two years later, was granted a Royal Charter by King William IV. In the present century, after the

complete cessation of all grants from Government, a small endowment, totalling under twenty thousand dollars, was raised. Over three-fourths of this was due to the generosity of Dr. James Douglas, a former President. For the rest, the Society depends upon its two hundred and fifty members at only five dollars a year, and on the excellent free quarters provided by the Corporation of Morrin College, whose own building, now no longer used as a college, was once the jail of Quebec, where public executions took place till 1864.

The Society has always comprised members of both races, and it has published many documents in both languages. Most of its members, however, have always belonged to the very small English-speaking population of Quebec. The Centenary Volume, to be published during the present year, will be the fiftieth produced by the wholly unpaid labour of those members who do the editorial work. The present value of some, at least, among these fifty volumes may be judged from the fact that, in spite of the progress of modern research, the purely Archival Index to their contents comprises more than three thousand references copied verbatim from the card-index entries made for the Quebec Provincial Archives. Every single item that was found to be imperfect in itself, or to have been superseded by better editions elsewhere, was entirely omitted, except for the significant entry: *Of no archival importance.* So, when we also remember that this index was finished only one

year ago, we can see how the Society's work for one hundred years has stood the test of time.

The library of the "Lit." contains about fifty thousand volumes. These are rather miscellaneous on the whole, ranging from bluebooks and learned exchanges to at least some of the current season's froth. But the really good authors (good fiction included) both living and dead, are duly represented; while the rare works on Canada, with a few of other kinds, make a quite goodly collection of their own. Some fine volumes in the Aylwin department upstairs date back to the sixteenth century. Among those of the early seventeenth is a long array of folios containing the Lords' and Commons' Journals, partly in manuscript; while the Imperial Parliamentary Debates, in seventy volumes, range from 1660 to 1830. Of more local interest are the Land Warrants (1764-67) in the only official copy known; the original manuscript copy of the *Rôle Général de la Milice Canadienne* who were reviewed at Quebec on the 11th of September, 1775, when Montgomery and Arnold were invading the Province; and the original journal kept by James Thompson, who was a Highland volunteer under Wolfe, who was Overseer of Works when Carleton fortified Quebec, and who, living to well-nigh a hundred, also knew Dalhousie. Here, too, are the original minutes of the Agricultural Society of Quebec in 1789; also a fairly complete set of *The Quebec Gazette*, which, founded in 1764 and still appearing as the *Chronicle*, is by far the oldest paper in the whole of Canada. Per-

haps the most valuable single item is the quite perfect *L'Affaire du Canada*, which contains all the documents connected with the trial of the infamous Intendant Bigot and his infamous associates. These five volumes, partly in manuscript, are certainly the only complete collection in all America. Whether France has such a complete original record is not at present known.

The "Lit." was obliged to give up its natural history museum for want of room. But it still has a few objects of a different kind that are, in their way, unique:—for instance, the handle of the first printing press in Quebec and Canada; also the whole of the last pillory used in connection with the jail; also Sir Georges Cartier's desk, at which many Confederation matters were arranged; and fourthly, the builder's model, as well as the original picture, of the *Royal William*, a Quebec-built vessel, which, being doubly unique in the history of the whole world, must be more fully described under another heading. Finally, as every historical collection in Quebec has some souvenirs of war, those at the "Lit.", though few, are worthy of some special note, because they range from a piece of the vessel from which Wolfe directed his attack against the heights near Montmorency to the original Canadian model made for actual use in the great attack on Vimy Ridge. Perhaps, too, the "Lit." may well be pardoned for the pride it takes in knowing that, throughout the whole century of its existence, there has never been a British war in which some members have not borne

their part, and that no less than three of the six senior fighting Generals of the whole Canadian army at the end of the Great World War were also members of the "Lit." These were Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Turner, Major-General Sir David Watson, and Major-General Sir Henry Burstall.

(2). Our second, and older, R.S.C. forerunner was the Quebec Library Association, which was founded in 1779 and amalgamated with the "Lit." in 1838, to the great advantage of all concerned on both sides.

(3). The third, and still older, Quebec forerunner of the R.S.C. was the *Académie des Sciences* formed by the Comte de la Galissonnière, who was devoted to the study of all that then went under the name of natural history. During his too short administration of New France (1747-49) he fostered collection and research by every means in his power. Under his most stimulating patronage Canon Gosselin sent a regular herbarium to Paris, Dr. Lacroix sent seeds and metals, including some Lake Superior copper, Father Lafiteau found the Canadian variety of ginseng, Dr. Gaulthier gave his own name to winter green, and Dr. Sarrazin sent to the parent Académie des Sciences a valuable series of notes on many of the most important Canadian mammals. Altogether, we might well surmise that La Galissonnière would have been *persona gratissima* with every Fellow of the R.S.C., and with its scientific sections most of all.

Here perhaps it may be excusable to say that

the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec might well claim a modest share in the national honour of establishing a famous service to which so many members of our scientific sections have always belonged — no less than the Geological Survey of Canada; for it was on the consideration of a petition from this Society to the Government in 1841 that Parliament voted fifteen hundred pounds, Halifax currency, to make the first official survey of all the natural resources to be found in both the Canadas. Members of the present Survey may smile at the disproportion between the little means afforded and the vast ends sought. But the embryo was there.

And would it be permissible to add that the "Lit" was at least partly responsible for the founding of the Historic Landmarks Association, in connection with the Quebec Tercentenary of 1908; and that it may thus claim a grandpaternal interest in the Canadian Historical Association, which is the offspring of the H.L.A.?

(4). You will remember that I promised you a forerunner of more than two centuries and a half ago. But I also warned you that this forerunner would not be any kind of regularly organized association. It consisted, in fact, of only the few congenial spirits that gathered round Frontenac at the Château St. Louis. Of course there were a few individuals outside this circle who might have had at least equal claims to sharing the intellectual life of that time; and there was at least an equally brilliant little social circle round

Tracy and Courcelle some years before. But Frontenac's circle, and more especially Frontenac himself, come nearest to forming a coterie having some direct relations with the arts and sciences of France. The usual histories treat Frontenac only as a soldier-statesman; and when they mention his intellectual tastes at all it is only because these tastes helped to intensify his quarrels with the Church. They may mention that he had a little private theatre set up in the Château, where something like garrison theatricals amused his little social world on winter evenings. They sometimes quote Bishop Saint-Vallier's denunciation of a certain class of comedies: *absolument mauvaises et criminelles d'elles-mêmes, comme pourrait être la comédie de Tartuffe.* And they generally put in the usual tag about *les Divines*, because Saint-Simon and Madame de Sévigné supply ready-made references to *les Divines*, and because one of the two *Divines*, la comtesse de Frontenac, lived apart from her husband, and so gives scope for the usual wonderings why.

But less emphasis is laid, if laid at all, on the fact that the comtesse de Frontenac and Mdlle. d'Outrelaise were in fairly close touch with the best intellectual, as well as the best social, life of Paris; and hardly any reference is ever made to the far more cogent fact that Frontenac himself was far more intimately connected with the intellectual life than were both of these *Divines* together. Not only could he turn a set of apposite French verses as well as all except the very best of courtly

poets but he was the most intimate habitué in the very intellectual circle that gathered round his favourite sister's husband, the Seigneur de Montmort, a true Mæcenas of the most enlightened kind. Montmort was one of the original forty who formed the French Academy. It was at his house that Molière first read *Le Tartufe*. There too were first discussed, from inside personal knowledge, many another work of literature that has since become a classic. Nor was this all. Montmort took an equally deep interest in the fine arts and in science. His friendship with Gassendi is well known. And was again at his famous house that Colbert chose the original members of the first Academy of Sciences. On the whole, I feel quite sure that Frontenac might well have been an F.R.S.C., as well as our official patron; and I incline to think that each one of our five sections would have found him a really kindred spirit.

(5). Here, with our first non-organized forerunners, I might stop. But perhaps it is at least excusable to mention Champlain and the authors of the *Jesuit Relations*, thus carrying back the intellectual life of Quebec to over three hundred years. Of course the Jesuits were not the first educated men who landed at Quebec; for the devoted Récollets preceded them; Champlain preceded the Récollets; and Jacques-Cartier preceded Champlain. Equally of course, the Jesuits were not professed exponents of the intellectual life, in the strictly modern sense, at all. They came as missionaries. They taught as priests. And

what they wrote was propaganda. But, incidentally, they were indirect historians, occasionally writing with a genuine literary touch. Some of them would have been very welcome in our Section I, with the full approval of our Section II; while (considering time, place, people, and restricted opportunities) their knowledge of mathematics, physics, and chemistry was not unlike an early-seventeenth-century equivalent of what is now more fully known to Section III; their remarks on geology and mineralogy bring them, with the same limitations, into touch with Section IV; and, even though with greater limitations still, their notes on natural history give them some kinship with our Section V.

Finally, Champlain and Jacques Cartier. We are not accustomed to regard Jacques Cartier as the first Canadian author. But that is what he was; and, within his self-appointed limits, a very good first author too. His admirably clear and vivid descriptions bring him fairly near to the very few authors who have written books of travel that are also works of literature; while his hydrographic notes (difference of period and of opportunities duly considered) are fully equal to those made by the greatest naval experts of the present day.

Jacques Cartier takes us back to a (shall I say posthumous?) F.R.S.C. of nearly four centuries ago; and he, please remember, would have also been a Fellow from unique Quebec, his domicile in Canada. Champlain of course is likewise a posthumous F.R.S.C.; but likewise not, emphat-

ically not, *Honoris Causa;* for he, more even than Jacques Cartier, would have been entirely eligible from his books alone. We all remember him as the founder of Quebec, New France, and Canada. But this should not obscure his other merits. We are apt to forget, some even never know, that he was a Captain in the Royal Navy of the north of France and a highly skilled hydrographer. We are also apt to give him less than his intellectual due as the author of books which happily combine the exact knowledge of the professional seaman and trained explorer with the exalting prevision of a pioneering coloniser and founder of a state. May I also remind you that he was the first to recommend the cutting of a Panama Canal?

In this brief glance at our forerunners I speak —as I speak all through this little paper—under correction from those whose knowledge is better than mine. But I venture to think that Quebec is quite unique in being the only place in Canada, and probably the only place throughout the whole New World, where authors whose works are still alive have spent at least some pregnant part of their careers in five successive centuries—from Jacques Cartier's to our own.

II. CHURCH

(1). The celebrated Quebec Act of 1774 created a situation which is still apparently unique in the whole world's history of church and state. Everybody knows what established churches are, and disestablished churches, and non-established churches too. We also know that an inevitable result of church establishment is some kind of directly responsible contact with the civil power. Every established church that ever has existed, or that exists to-day, has had, in one way or another, to reckon with the worldly powers of the state—either with an autocrat, or with an oligarchy, with a parliament, or perhaps with revolution. But here, in this Province of Quebec, is apparently the only church in history, which, though not established, is specifically recognized, and in such a way as practically to give it nearly all the rights and privileges of an established church, but—and here's the unique effect—none of the direct responsibilities. There are, of course, indirect responsibilities and many points of contact with the civil power. But, for a century and a half (1774-1924) there have been no real church-and-state debates in any parliament: none in the Provincial Houses, none in those of the Dominion, none even in those Imperial Houses from which this Act originally came.

There is some need of definition here, lest there should be misunderstandings. The Roman Catholic Church is one throughout the world. There are other than French-Canadian Roman Catholics in Quebec. And other forms of religion in Quebec enjoy similar tax-exemptions on property used in similar ways. Moreover, the whole question is so complex, when all its varied implications are involved, that these few sentences may seem absurd to those who know how many books might well be filled with facts and explanations. But, since the peculiar historical interest of the Quebec Act, coupled with its present-day effects, is only to be found, from first to last, among the French-Canadians, I am obliged to isolate them here, from the other children of their Church, in order to point the moral of my tale—which tale and moral are greatly to the honour of their Church.

For consider what the privileged position of this Church has been within this Province during the last three hundred years. Three hundred years ago exactly the Jesuits in France first heard the call sent to them by the Récollets in Canada. How well that call was answered is known to everyone. Presently Richelieu made up his unifying mind— more for the safety of the state than of the church—that New France should be free from all weakening differences among her own population. So he decreed that only good Catholics should be allowed to trade or settle there. Thenceforth French Canada was Roman Catholic, almost to a man. Then, two hundred and fifty

years ago exactly, New France also became what French-Canadians are to-day— extremely Ultramontane. Even the rising glories of le Roi Soleil and all the Gallican tendencies of France herself could not prevail to have the first Bishop of Quebec placed under the Archbishopric of Rouen. The question had, indeed, been settled in 1659, when Laval had arrived at Quebec as *Vicaire Apostolique* and Bishop of Petrœa *in partibus infidelium.* This arrival meant that the Sulpician Abbé Queylus (who had been the Archbishop's Canadian Vicar-General for the last two years) was soon and completely superseded by Laval. Laval and the Ultramontane Jesuits looked straight to Rome; and there they found the jurisdiction they desired — straight from the Pope himself. Finally, one hundred and fifty years ago exactly, the Quebec Act made the Church of Rome unique within the Province by confirming its civil rights, without, however, subjecting it to the direct accountabilities which all established churches have always had to face elsewhere.

I repeat that this great question cannot be compressed within a few short paragraphs; and I again warn my readers that my own formula — "rights without responsibilities"—is wholly misleading without much fuller explanation than can be given here. But, because the French-Canadian part of the Church in the Province of Quebec was recognized without being established, and because it received the confirmation of its civil rights without being *pro tanto* subjected to the usual

parliamentary questions and debates, it has, for a hundred and fifty British years, enjoyed what, with all proper qualifying explanations, may, in a governmental sense, be almost called "rights without responsibilities". This unique position would have been the sure undoing of most political institutions, and of many ecclesiastical institutions too. Therefore these two mere facts, first, that this privileged church should have satisfied most legitimate demands for three whole centuries — half British and half French—and, secondly, satisfied these demands so well that no repealing Act has even been debated—these two mere facts are proof that this uniquely privileged Church has used, but not abused, its quite peculiar powers.

(2). Visitors to the City and Province of Quebec cannot fail to notice that many public services of a more or less eleemosynary origin are still entirely carried on by the Roman Catholic Church, in contradistinction to the purely lay management usually found elsewhere. Indeed, with regard to sum totals, the City and Province might well be called unique in the vast number of schools, colleges, hospitals, orphanages, asylums, and other institutions which are ecclesiastically managed. The modern differentiation which confines most "religious", *qua* "religious," to purely religious functions does not yet obtain here. French-Canadian Quebec, however much developed in some ways and modified in others, is still true to her own Church type in this respect. And here it is only fair to add that many P.Q. tax-

exemptions in favour of the R.C. French-Canadian Church are in reality no more, and generally less, than what the state would have to pay for such public services in any other case.

(3). Quebec Church archives may claim to be unique, more especially if the *Jesuit Relations* are included, as they may well be; for there are several early years of which hardly any other archives exist. Quebec, we must remember, was for more than a century the only R. C. bishopric in either French- or English-speaking America; so everything that required episcopal action had to be referred to Quebec till 1786, when John Carroll became Vicar-General of Baltimore. If, for instance, a researcher wished to find the original evidence for some parochial affair at New Orleans in 1783, the year that George III acknowledged Independence, then this evidence could only be found at the Archbishop's Palace at Quebec, if it had ever involved episcopal action. Still more remarkable is the fact that the episcopal archives of all the American Western Posts held by the British till Jay's Treaty had been put into operation by both sides are still to be found in the same Palace, whither they originally went till 1796, or twenty years after Independence had been signed. Detroit, for instance, though French, British, and American, all within the eighteenth century, reported its parochial matters to Quebec for ninety-six of these first hundred years. Of course New Orleans was Spanish from 1762 to 1800, and Detroit was in occupied territory from 1783 to

1796. But these two facts, especially the first, rather increase the interest of the Quebec location of their archives.

(4). Three years later, in 1799, we find Mgr. Plessis, the French-Canadian Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, preaching a sermon and issuing a *mandement* of thanksgiving for Nelson's victory over the French fleet at the Nile. This prelate gratefully acknowledged what the Canadian part of his Church owed to the just laws and the protecting arms of Britain against what he regarded as an apostate and regicide France. Bishop Plessis, whose sermon is still worth reading, was among the foremost Canadian patriots in the War of 1812, knowing, as he did, that the peculiar position of his Church could never be maintained outside the British Empire.

(5). The first nuns, first female teachers, and first nurses who ever came to Canada were the three Ursulines and three Hospitalières who arrived at Quebec in 1639. The Quebec Ursulines and Quebec Hospitalières are also the only nuns in the whole New World who have been through four sieges and have nursed the sick and wounded of all the warring peoples that have contended for the possession of Quebec (which of course meant Canada as well) — Indians, French, British, and Americans.

(6). Quebec has suffered from many disastrous fires. But the Hôpital-Général has always escaped; and here you still may see a perfectly intact specimen of seventeenth-century French-Canadian ar-

chitecture, in that part of the building which includes the belfry. From this date, 1671, down to the present day the structural history of Quebec may be followed up in stone. This senior of all Canadian hospitals does not, however, possess the oldest of all Canadian buildings still intact; for the Jesuit Mission House at Sillery, a few miles above the city, dates from 1637.

(7). The Ursulines are the only nuns in Canada whose building was actually turned into a fort. This was in 1660, when the Iroquois seemed determined to make a bloody end of all New France. Eighty men and twelve trained war-dogs garrisoned the convent, where every able-bodied nun was also told off to active duty. The Superior, the celebrated Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, took the most dangerous of all — the supply of ammunition to the men in action. The Ursulines, again, are the only community in New France which ever had a daughter of the New England Puritans as their Superior. Esther Wheelwright, great-granddaughter of the Reverend John Wheelwright, was taken by Indians at Wells in 1703, ransomed in 1708 by Vaudreuil (père) Governor-General, and elected Superior in 1761. The Ursuline chapel has by far the oldest votive lamp in Canada, the one first lit in 1717 by Marie Madeleine de Repentigny in memory of her dead affianced lover. In the present century the maternal members of her family in France have placed a new, and beautifully jewelled, lamp in this Chapel, and, having lighted it from the old lamp, have thereby endowed the

Ursulines with another unique souvenir; for nowhere else in the whole New World are two votive lamps burning together in the same romantic way. But even these lamps are eclipsed by another double souvenir; for this one is unique both in the Old World and the New. No other place of worship in the world contains such personal souvenirs of the opposing commanders in a world-famous battle. In the Ursuline Chapel you may see on one side the tomb of Montcalm, while facing it is the pulpit from which the Chaplain of the British flagship *Neptune* preached the "mourning" sermon in memory of Wolfe.

(8). Quebec naturally has the oldest street in Canada, the little rue de Notre-Dame in Lower-Town, leading to where the first of all parish churches stood in 1615.

(9). The see of Quebec is incomparably senior to all others. Founded in 1674 it is 115 years older than the first R.C. bishopric in the United States (Carroll, at Baltimore, in 1789). It is also 119 years older than the Anglican see of Quebec (1793) which itself is very little junior to the first in Canada (Nova Scotia, 1787) and to the first Protestant Episcopal in the U.S. (Connecticut, 1784).

(10). The Quebec Basilica is by far the oldest Cathedral in French- or English-speaking America; and it possesses vestments and vessels which, as royal gifts from Louis XIV, are quite unmatched in Canada (and, of course, the United States). More than a century later (1800-1804) George III

gave a complete set of communion plate to the Anglican Cathedral, which also has the only Royal Pew throughout the whole New World.

(11). Quebec has what is probably the only school in the world that has ever been founded in the middle of an earthquake season — le Séminaire Laval (1663).

(12). Finally, Quebec is next door to the great transatlantic Lourdes, where, before the shrine of la Bonne Sainte-Anne, pilgrims gather from all north-eastern North America in such numbers that, if the whole of London were to visit an English shrine, this concourse would not outnumber, in proportion, the Provincial French-Canadian pilgrims at Ste. Anne.

III. STATE

Here I shall be very brief, because everybody who is anybody knows the main political history of Quebec when she was the capital of Canada. But a few points seem worth emphasizing, however well they may be known to the elect.

(1). The real French constitution of Canada dates, not from the time of Champlain, but from that of Roberval, whose commission was granted by Francis I on the 15th of January, 1540. By this commission the whole political system of France was applied to Canada through the powers conferred on the King's "Lieutenant-Général," who thus became a very "potent, grave, and reverend seignior" indeed. His wretched colony, partly stocked with jail-birds, failed miserably enough; and one whole century and a quarter more elapsed before the arrival of the Marquis de Tracy made the foundations of New France at all secure. But the constitution of 1540 persisted still — feudal tenure, rights, and very searching duties, all included. There were revocations; but none that affected rights which had not been abused. Grants were simply reissued to previous good holders, as to Louis Hébert, who received the seigniory of Sault-au-Matelot in 1623. With the usual modifications of all constitutions this original

one persisted through the time of the chartered company of One Hundred Associates, through that of the Royal Province of New France, on to the cession of 1763, through the Quebec Act of 1774, and even through the commutations and other changes effected in seignorial tenure eighty years later — down, in short, to the present day; for seignorial tenure still survives in a greatly modified, but quite constitutional, form. Quebec is thus unique throughout the world in maintaining an integral part of a French constitution granted by the King who shone resplendent at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

(2). Now let us reverse the process, beginning with any P.Q. lawyer of the present day who chooses to quote the *Coûtume de Paris*. This takes us back, through Confederation in the nineteenth century, to the Quebec Act of the eighteenth, thence to the time when Canada was a Province of centralised France in the seventeenth, and thence again to the time when, in the sixteenth century, France was just beginning to become a centralised monarchy, and the *Coûtume de Paris*, as a great centralising force in helping to unify the laws, was beginning to gain ground at the expense of all the various local *coûtumes*.

(3). The *Habitant* was the colonist, in sharp distinction from the *coureur de bois*, who was trader, trapper, and haunter of the wilds. Quebec had the first of all habitants, in the person of Louis Hébert, who began farming on the heights of Quebec just 250 years before Confederation. Six

years later (1623) he was granted the first of all seigniories. But the mere bush lot of Sault-au-Matelot never grew into anything like a real seigniory; and Hébert died a virtual habitant, if also a titular *seigneur*. How well the early Habitants became rooted in the soil, and how well their stock has flourished in the selfsame soil from that time till our own, may perhaps be understood by looking through the official list compiled in 1908, the year of Tercentennial Quebec. This list (surely unique in all America) enumerates no less than 206 families who still occupy the same lands that were first farmed by their own ancestors during the seventeenth century.

(4). The first real seignior was Robert Giffard, who did homage for his fief of Beauport to Champlain's lieutenant, Bras de Fer du Châteaufort, at Quebec on New Year's Eve, 1635. Entering without sword or spur, he made obeisance, swore fealty, and was invested with his seigniory. Then, spurred and sworded, he went forth, ready to serve New France as coloniser in time of peace and commander of the local levies during war. Time, and place, and people all considered, the seigniorial system worked well enough throughout the French régime. The changed conditions and the changing personnel that followed the conquest made it grow increasingly anachronistic till 1854, when, again at Quebec, it was so changed by antagonistic legislation and by new commutations as to become but the simulacrum of its former self. Still, as a quite legal simulacrum, it exists

to-day — the last vestige of the feudal age throughout the whole New World.

(5). Population, that is, French-Canadian population, from the strictly scientific point of view, presents a fact and factor that are unique in Canada, as well as being of peculiar interest among the population problems of the world at large. This French-Canadian problem is not an easy one to state, from lack of precise and accesible statistics. For though the parish registers have been admirably kept, though immigrants were well reported, and though works on genealogies abound, yet no one seems to have approached this literally and figuratively vital question from the purely scientific point of view. What we need to know is the exact number of immigrating males and females who became the actual ancestors of the nearly three million French-Canadians of the present day. We must also know the dates at which these ancestors arrived. The greatest immigration was about 250 years ago. The total number of ancestral immigrants has never, so far as I know, been determined. Some place it below 20,000; others above. But, in any case, the French Canadians, by natural increase in Canada alone, have multiplied at least one hundred times over within two hundred years: that is, fifty times over within a century, or five times over within each decade, or no less than twice in every two years. This fifty-per-cent-per-annum increase, by means of births alone, is certainly unique in all America.

(6). In this twentieth century, when Canadian

ambassadors are so much discussed in Ottawa, we might remember that Father Druillettes, a properly accredited Canadian envoy, went from Quebec to Boston in the seventeenth. New England and New France discussed their differences amicably, Druillettes being entertained by General Gibbons and courteously received by Governor Dudley, Governor Bradford, and many other leaders. But the United Colonies of New England next year (1651) declined the proferred reciprocity, at the expense of war against the Iroquois; and New France bethought her of the potential enemy that New England might become — an enemy with already ten times the population of New France.

(7). The Quebec Act of 1774 was unique in the Imperial legislation of its age, unique (as we have seen already) in its privilege-recognition of the French-Canadian Church, and unique in its territorial dispensations most of all. What are now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan (and, of course, Ontario) thenceforth formed part of the Province of Quebec till the Peace of 1783. These unique nine P.Q. years deserve a special monograph from the administrative point of view. They have already received plenty of virulent, and lately some quite impartial, attention among those who know the Quebec Act only as one of the "Intolerable Five" which fanned the flame of revolution.

(8). The City of Quebec is unique in having been the home of an abortive oversea French pseudo-*Parlement* in the seventeenth century.

Frontenac, shortly after his arrival in 1672, summoned no less than a Canadian imitation of the French States-General. The three Estates of the Province were there — to the number of nearly a thousand, as optimistic Frontenac surmised. He first made a counterpart of the Speech from the Throne and then exacted the oath from every member of the three Estates — Clergy, Nobles, and Bourgeoisie. But his enthusiastic report met with a chilling response from autocratic Louis, in the form of a dispatch from Colbert: "Since our Kings, for a long time past, have thought it inadvisable to summon the States-General in France, you should seldom, or, to be more precise, never, assemble the people of Canada together in that way."

(9). The first oversea British parliament that ever assembled at the call of a Governor-General was also unique in being mainly French by language. (The fact that Carleton was absent, and that Alured Clarke acted for him, makes no difference). All previous oversea legislatures of all kinds had been those of mere provinces or individual colonies of a purely provincial kind — as, indeed, this Parliament of Lower Canada itself was, in a territorial sense. But the Governor-General, *qua* Governor-General, assembled it; while the Parliament of Upper Canada (though not more essentially provincial in other ways) assembled at the call of its purely local Lieutenant-Governor. Both met in 1792.

(10). The basic instinct of every form of life —

from plants to politics — is sheer self-preservation; and self-preservation comes home most nearly to fundamentally differentiated minorities when brought into growing contact with environmental forces which have great assimilating powers. Therefore the very day the French Canadians found themselves in Parliament they inevitably began evolving a policy which, with all its adaptations, naturally centres in the basic instinct of preserving that quadrunion of race, religion, language, and laws which seems best fitted to stand four-square against the assimilating forces of the Canadian and American environments. Of all French colonies beyond the seas French Canada alone remains, (that is, as a racial entity on a relatively large scale, though under a different régime.) France has again created an empire overseas; but this time not one which the French themselves can colonise to any great extent. The Americans have assimilated Louisiana out of its really French life altogether. P.Q. alone remains a quite distinctive entity, widely differentiated from the life of modern France, yet unassimilated by its vast North-American or closer Canadian environment. P.Q. is thus unique throughout both the Old World and the New. This uniqueness connotes extreme particularism in certain ways. But it also accounts for many a vivid interest and abiding charm which are themselves unique.

(11). I shall not add to my perhaps already too offensive statements of the obvious by des-

canting on the universally known fact that the Fathers of Confederation met in this City for the first time exactly sixty years ago.

(12). Nor shall I do more than mention the resultant fact of the Proclamation of the Dominion on the same historic spot — (that is, the open ground at the top of Mountain Hill, on your right as you come up) — the same spot that witnessed the meeting of the first Parliament in 1792, and that remained a Parliament ground, of different kinds, till 1883.

IV. WAR

"Unique" is fast becoming that very noisome thing, a tag, properer (not for sermons but) for advertisers, tub-thumping speechifiers, and others of the non-elect. Yet Quebec does happen to be what "tag-men" would delight to call "still more unique" in all concerning War than even in affairs of Church and State together. So, to avoid much strident repetition, let it here and now be said that the City of Quebec is quite unique, at least in Canada, in all things to be mentioned under War — that is to say, in the first, or last, or only things which happened to occur within or near her walls. Some of these happenings are also unique in all America; while others, again, are quite unique throughout the world.

For purposes of easy reference I group the various items under these five heads:—A. *Wars*, B. *Garrisons*, C. *Fortifications*, D. *Miscellaneous*, and E. (a mere P.S.) on the *Misunderstandings* about the infinitely hackneyed and quite misnomered *Wolfe-and-Montcalm Campaign.*

A. WARS. Quebec has been concerned in literally a dozen different wars.

(1). *French and Indian wars*, from Champlain's first expedition against the Iroquois in 1609 to Frontenac's last, in 1696. Quebec itself

was the actual scene of Indian fighting for only a comparatively short time (e.g. in 1656, when the Iroquois killed out the Hurons on the Island of Orleans) yet it was the base on all occasions for all the forces, whether commanded by Champlain, Montmagny, Courcelle, La Barre, Denonville, or Frontenac.

(2). *French and English* met here first in 1629, when Champlain was forced to surrender owing to the hopeless dearth of men, munitions, and supplies. As usual, the determining influence of the sea-power which caused this hopeless dearth is slurred over in the usual histories or omitted altogether. There was a naval action (albeit on a microscopic scale) off the Saguenay in 1628, when the Kirkes defeated the tiny flotilla of four little armed vessels which were escorting eighteen little transports to Quebec under the gallant Claude de Roquemont.

(3). Courcelle's expedition against the Iroquois in 1666 led to the first and most dramatic *Inland meeting between the French and English.* The French, missing the Mohawk trail, suddenly, to their intense surprise, found themselves face to face with the English at Schenectady. They were looking for Mohawks. The only whites of whom they knew anything along the Hudson Valley were the Dutch. Yet here were the English, who, having supplanted the Dutch at New York eighteen months before, had now worked their way north straight toward the flank of New France. The two home governments were then at peace; so

French and English parted with all the usual compliments; but not without most ominous forebodings on both sides.

Yet, for another generation, there was peace, till Frontenac's raids set the Colonial Americans to work on Pieter Schuyler's "*Glorious Enterprize*" of conquering New France by a double invasion, an inland army going up the line of the Hudson to Montreal, while a joint expedition ascended the St. Lawrence to Quebec. As we all know, this plan did not succeed till the time of Pitt, seventy years later. Meanwhile the French had their own strategic plans, all based on Quebec. Frontenac urged Louis XIV to get New York either by treaty or force, thus securing the most convenient ice-free port, driving a wedge through the country of the Iroquois, and cutting the English colonies in two. But the one chance of getting it by treaty, when Charles II was almost a pensioner of Louis XIV, was lost, and thenceforth sea-power became, as before and afterwards, the prime determinant in every war.

French strategy in America, still based upon Quebec, then aimed at the control of the *three great gulfs, the three great rivers, and the five great lakes*. Grandiose as this appears to us now, we must remember that France was then the first power in Europe and had a population far exceeding the population of Great Britain. Moreover, she did command the local areas of the three great gulfs toward the end of the seventeenth century, when Iberville commanded Hudson Bay, raided

Newfoundland, and had no challenger in either the Gulf of St. Lawrence or of Mexico. The St. Lawrence, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers were also under French control, if under any, a little later on; while the five Great Lakes were practically free from all whites but the French.

The first combined invasion of New France by English-speaking forces was unique in being the only combined invasion ever attempted by the *Colonial Americans alone* (for the purely naval force at Louisbourg in 1745 was exclusively Imperial). Phipps's fleet and army were almost entirely composed of New England men and vessels; and the whole expedition reached Quebec without a ship, a penny, or a man, or even one official word, from the Home Government in London. Hopelessly mismanaged by its loquacious councils, and faced by Frontenac with the cleverly concentrated strength of New France, Phipps's armada retired beaten; whereupon the new church in Lower Town was called Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire. In 1711 there was a second combined invasion; and this time an Imperial one, which, if properly led, Quebec could never have withstood. But the mulish Admiral, Sir Hovenden Walker, "kept it at North" till Egg Island, at the N.W. corner of the Gulf, was strewn with wrecked transports carrying a good number of the veteran soldiers who were completely miscommanded by that ass of a General, Jack Hill. The mule and ass then brayed together and went home; though the remaining force was still quite strong enough to take Quebec: where-

upon the church's name was changed to *des-Victoires*.

(4). The only successful invasion was the famous one of 1759. This campaign, in spite of enough original evidence on both sides to settle all vexed questions, is still so much misrepresented as to be worth discussion in a little P.S., even before an audience of F.R.S.C.'s. (see under E, at the end of this section).

(5). Quebec, as the stronghold of New France, had now faced four different kinds of war: first, against the Indian frontier; then against English raiders from the sea; next against a combined invasion by Colonial Americans; and fourthly, against British combined invasions, by joint Imperial and Colonial forces, culminating in conquest, cession, and the change to the new régime, under which Quebec has been connected, in differing ways, with no less than eight other kinds of war.

The first of these other eight was the *invasion by the American Revolutionists* under Montgomery and Arnold in 1775-6. For that whole winter all Canada was practically under American control — all except Carleton's garrison inside the walls of Quebec. The double assault was defeated, Montgomery's at Près-de-Ville and Arnold's at the Sault-au-Matelot. (The sites of these two barricades were marked by bronze tablets some twenty years ago). Then up came a British fleet in May, and Canada was saved — as, indeed, she would have been, even if Quebec itself had fallen, so

decisive has always been the influence of sea-power on the whole course of all our history.

(6). *Two American invasions* — one Colonial, the other Revolutionary — had now failed before Quebec. *The third — that of the War of 1812* — never reached it at all. But Quebec was, of course, a prime American objective, as well as the local British stronghold, throughout the frontier operations; and the heroes of the two fights which are best known in their respective Provinces — Queenston in Ontario, Châteauguay in old Quebec — were both more than mere visitors to (or subordinates of headquarters at) Quebec. Brock had lived here, as Commandant, in the third house from the top of Fabrique Street; while De Salaberry was almost a Quebecker, the family seat being at Beauport, only a few miles off. De Salaberry and his brothers were officers in the Imperial Army; and his Voltigeurs were French-Canadian regulars — two points not usually stressed.

Another name connected with Quebec and 1812 is that of Wellington, who wrote a remarkably fine letter to Bathurst on hearing the news of Prevost's disgraceful defeat at Plattsburg. Though Canada was then little more than what is called a side-show, compared with Napoleonic Europe, and though Wellington was then the foremost figure among the Allies, yet, on the 14th of November, 1814, he wrote Bathurst the following confidential letter:—"I see that the Publick are very impatient about the want of success in America .....I think that matters are in such an uncom-

fortable state here.....that you could not spare me out of Europe.....and I believe I should not be able to go to Quebec till April [i.e. two months before Waterloo]. If, however, in March next, you should think it expedient that I should go there, I beg that you will understand that I have no objection whatever. It will be for you to consider whether I can be most useful to you there, here, or elsewhere."

(7). Another, and much more unpleasant, kind of war managed from Quebec headquarters was the series of unhappy risings known as the *Canadian Rebellion* of 1837-8.

(8). Then, after the Trent Affair of 1861, came the *Fenian Raids* of 1866 and '70, forming another class apart.

(9). The *Red River Expedition* of 1870 was the last in which Imperial regulars and Canadian militia served together in Canada, the first in which either had gone west of the Great Lakes, and the last during which Headquarters were still at Quebec.

(10). (I do not forget the Papal Zouaves of 1870-1 or the Nile Voyageurs who rendezvoused at Quebec in 1884. But neither of these come within our terms of reference here: the Zouaves being unofficial volunteers and the Voyageurs being non-combatants for special service only.) The *North-West Rebellion* of 1885 was the first war in which Quebec was not Headquarters, the first in which Dominion regulars left Quebec for the front, and the first in which a Quebec City

French-Canadian Militia battalion went west of the Lakes.

(11). In 1899 Quebec was the rendezvous of the first *South African Contingent* — the first Canadian unit that ever went on active service overseas. (The 100th Royal Canadians, raised in 1858, were an Imperial unit).

(12). In 1914 *Valcartier*, near Quebec, was the rendezvous, while *Quebec* itself was the point of departure for, the *first Canadian contingents that ever went to war in Europe. The Great World War*, as every enlightened person knew, was, in its essence, a life-and-death struggle against forces which aimed at the complete disablement, if not destruction, of all the French- and English-speaking peoples of the world — of course including all the daughter nations as well as both the mother countries. Thus, after ten different kinds of intervening wars, the stronghold City of Quebec, once the smallest of local French headquarters against a few wild savages, came into fully autonomous Dominion correlations with by far the greatest world-wide war that history has ever seen. It is worth noting that expert professional military foresight at Ottawa was not in fault about Quebec, first, in 1907, when Valcartier was strongly recommended, and again in 1912, when detailed plans were submitted for camping multiples of 10,000 men on (the right, not wrong, part of) that selected ground — ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, one hundred, and even two hundred thousand men. Some political wiseacres laughed at such absur-

dities. But Canada had half-a-million men under arms before that war was over. Quebec itself was also the place chosen for the famous-or-infamous Ross rifle. But the Ross rifle affair was not the fault of the military experts who specialised in rifles.

The Great World War brought about some very interesting correlations at Quebec between the three great peoples who had fought to win her — French, British, and Americans. The *U.S. Government* made their own small-arm ammunition at the Dominion Arsenal (next door to where Arnold's American invaders took up their quarters at the Palais); and, what caught the eye much more, many thousands of their soldiers sailed from Quebec for the front. *British war activities* of every kind were of course in evidence on every hand. Most were purely *Canadian;* but some were *Imperial* — munitions and certain kinds of inland water transport among them. Then, at one time, there was direct enlistment for "hostility men" into the *Royal Navy;* while, at another, there was enlistment for the Canadian Expeditionary Force that went to *Siberia.* Then, again, Quebec was the mobilisation centre for all the *Jugo-Slavs* throughout both North and South America. This mobilisation provided one of the strangest anomalies of this strange war; for the Serbians, Montenegrins, and other Jugo-Slavs (many thousands of whom were mobilised at the St. Joseph Camp) came as civilians, remained civilians all through their training in Quebec, crossed the Atlantic as

civilians, and only became recognized soldiers after they had reached the other side — generally some French port in the north of Africa. This unique civilian status persisted not only because they were the embryonic soldiers of an embryonic state but because foreign enlistment — even of an extra-territorial nature — was considered at least a potential breach of neutrality by the Wilsonian government at Washington. So here was a Canadian Camp Commandant the only soldier among thousands of armed civilians volunteering for oversea service under a potential, not an actual, state, which could only become a recognised nation as the result of a victory won by the side on which these Jugo-Slavs fought.

But perhaps the most appealing of all the non-British events connected with Quebec and this war were two which cannot be classed as strictly war activities at all. The first was the visit, near the end of the war, of *the first French soldiers that had ever set foot in Canada since the surrender of New France* a hundred and fifty-eight years before. (I am not forgetting the many French sailors between 1860 and the present day). These soldiers were a detachment of the justly famous Chasseurs Alpins, nicknamed "Blue Devils", and the very pick of their kind.

The second, and still more thrilling, visit was that paid by Marshal Foch in 1920. Here was the first Maréchal-de-France who ever set foot in Canada. Here was the first generalissimo of British, French, and Americans combined.

Here was the first Maréchal-de-France who was also a British Field Marshal. And here, in our famous Citadel, this world-renowned Marshal of both the French and British Armies reviewed the regiment of which he had been made Honorary Colonel, at the request of our Dominion and with the most cordial permission of our King — the Royal 22nd, a regiment of Canadian regulars, lately returned from the British front in France, now garrisoning the City of Champlain and of Montcalm, wearing the British khaki and drilled by English words of command, but also French-speaking French Canadians to a man.

B. GARRISONS: Well, they too are unique in all America, where no place whatever, except Quebec, has been garrisoned for more than three whole centuries without a single break: first by Champlain's Frenchmen for 21 years, then by Kirke's Englishmen for 3, then by the French again for 127, then by British Imperials for 112, and finally by Canadian regulars for the last 53. Montmagny, who was Governor from 1636 to 1648, believed in being ready for all eventualities; and the Jesuit Father Lejeune has left us a good description of the garrison in those early days, when, please remember, Quebec was but a village — perhaps I should say hamlet — with only a few hundred souls. "We have some good resolute soldiers. It is a pleasure to see them go through their military exercises and hear the sound of musketry and cannon called forth by every occasion of rejoicing; while our illimitable forests and

the encircling hills answer these salutes with echoes like the roll of thunder. The bugle calls us every morning, and we rise to see the sentries take post and the guard turn out in proper style." But it was not till 1665 that the arrival of the famous Régiment de Carignan — *the first regiment of regulars that ever came to North America* — raised the garrison to a really imposing strength. In 1759 British Imperials began a garrison duty that lasted till 1871, when the first Canadian regulars under the Dominion Government fell in for their first parade.

C. FORTIFICATIONS. In this respect Quebec is still more remarkable — unique, in fact, throughout the whole New World; for nowhere else is there any place that has been fortified in five successive centuries, from the sixteenth to our own. Of course, Jacques Cartier's tiny stockade beside the Little River (as the St. Charles was called and is — in contrast to the great St. Lawrence) can not be counted as a "fortification", in the stricter sense of the word. But it served its purpose, as did the *Abitation de Quebecq*, the much more pretentious, but still very small, fortified winter quarters built by Champlain in 1608. Champlain also built the first fort in the Upper Town, on the site of the present Terrace; and Montmagny rebuilt its makeshift "fascines, terres, gazons, et bois" in solid stone. But up to Phipps's attack in 1690 there was nothing more than a stone fort round the Governor's fortified Château in the Upper Town, with a "strong place" in the

Lower Town on each side of the present Sous-le-Fort Street. In 1692, twenty years after his first arrival, Frontenac first succeeded in getting the means for building the first walls round Quebec. Frontenac, like Montcalm, was exasperated beyond all endurance by the rascally contractors and bad local workmanship. By the time the last of the dishonest and dilatory work had been completed the first was falling to pieces. Then in 1720 new, but equally bad and even more dishonest, work was begun. From this time till the Conquest nothing but patchwork was ever done. Good French engineers came out and made excellent reports. But the local workmanship was bad, the contractors were worse, and when the infamous Intendant Bigot took charge the Government was worst of all. On the very eve of 1759 the despairing Montcalm wrote home: "Les fortifications sont si ridicules et mauvaises qu'elles seraient prises aussitôt qu'assiégées." "What a country", as he constantly wrote home in private letters, "what a country, where rogues grow rich and honest men are ruined!"

British makeshifts replaced French tinkerings till after the American invasion of 1775. Then a temporary British scheme was finished in 1783. The remains of the Cape Diamond works — still palmed off on sentimental tourists as "Old French Works" — date from this time. Forty years later the great fortification was begun. It took nine years (1823-32) and cost over seven millions sterling. This, however, was only a very small part

of the more than a hundred millions sterling spent by the patient Imperial taxpayer on military works in Canada; and this, in its turn, was nothing like a quarter of what the Imperial taxpayers of the Mother Country paid for the naval and military forces devoted to the special defence of Canada in peace and war. The walls and Citadel, as they stand to-day, were well and honestly built. Then, just before Canada took over her own defence in 1871 (with exceptions that lasted for another generation on both coasts) the Imperial Government built the three big forts on the heights of Lévis. Finally, in 1910, the Dominion built the modern works near Beaumont, eight miles below Quebec and on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, whose ship channel they command. These works were inspected, that same year, at the request of the Canadian Government, by Lord French, the first Commander-in-chief of the first British troops in France during the Great World War.

D. MISCELLANEOUS first, or last, or only things connected with Quebec's war history are numerous enough to make a quite effective class of their own. But I shall merely note a few.

(1). *Charlesbourg*, close to Quebec, still has fields divided by fences which stretch out from a common centre like spokes from a hub. The original hub was the local fort, into which the habitants could run most easily when all the neighbouring fields met at one common point. The fort has long since disappeared. But, among the older habitants in the remoter districts, any

nearby village is still referred to as *le fort*, in reminiscence of Iroquois and scalping parties; while here, unique in all America, you still may see the fences running in to one strategic point.

(2). Five special points about the *Quebec Campaign of 1759* are worth a little emphasis, at all events in naval and military eyes.

1). *The great Fleet and Convoy*, in all, 277 sail (from which Wolfe's little army acted as a landing party) was by far the greatest that had ever come up the St. Lawrence. More than that: despite the vast increase of size in modern vessels, the actual gross tonnage of this great fleet and convoy was never again equalled on the St. Lawrence till the First Canadian Contingent sailed from Quebec to the Great World War in 1914.

2). It was at Quebec that Wolfe himself suggested the regimental motto of the famous *Royal Americans—Celer et Audax*. This regiment, first raised in 1755, and soon numbered as the 60th Foot, was the first four-battalion regiment in the Service, the first to become a Rifle Regiment, and the only one whose uniform became the model of all Canadian Rifles. It is, therefore, quite befitting that the present English-speaking Quebec militia battalion, known as the Royal Rifles of Canada, should be affiliated with the "Old 60th", now known as the King's Royal Rifle Corps.

3). It was at Quebec that the *Royal Marine Light Infantry* first served in a complete battalion ashore in any campaign.

4). *The thin red line* immortalised by Kinglake

was antedated by nearly a century at Quebec; for the first two-deep line ever formed by any army in any battle in the world was formed by Wolfe's at Quebec. This statement, first made, from the original evidence, in 1904, has stood the expert researches of the past twenty years.

5). *The father of modern hydrography*, the great Captain Cook, began his surveys at Quebec; and it is a rather peculiar coincidence that while the great English circumnavigator Cook was helping Wolfe to get into Quebec the great French circumnavigator Bougainville was trying to keep him out.

Three special points about other times are also very well worth noting here.

1). To begin with, the *first Royal Review* ever held in the whole New World was held at Quebec in 1787 in honour of William IV, then quite a junior Naval officer. Rather coincidently, the last Royal Review here was held in honour of our only other sailor King, George V, who attended the Tercentenary of 1908 as his father's representative, and who reviewed British, French, and American forces on the very ground where their predecessors had fought so well and often for the possession of Quebec. This review was also unique on account of the Canadian forces present, being the first at which all arms and branches of all Canadian Services, from every Province in the whole Dominion, had ever met together on one spot.

2). *The only American Commander who ranked*

as a General in three different wars in the three different countries of North America was, after Queenston, a prisoner of war in Quebec, where, from his gigantic stature and noble bearing, he soon became known and popular as "the Big Colonel." Winfield Scott was a General commanding a brigade of first-rate regulars at Lundy's Lane in 1814, the Commanding General during the Mexican War of 1846 (when Lee was his Chief-of-Staff, while Grant and Stonewall Jackson were junior officers) and the senior General of the whole U.S. Army at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861.

3). *The Army Bills Act*, passed at Quebec in 1812 by the Parliament of Lower Canada (in which French Canadians, then as now, vastly preponderated) was by far the most important financial measure not only of that war but, in a certain sense, of the whole financial history of Canada. These bills were the first Canadian paper money ever redeemed at par, being made "redeemable at this" (the Army Bill) "Office" (17 St. Louis Street) "by Government Bills of Exchange on London, at Thirty Days Sight. By Order of the Commander of the Forces."

E. THE MISUNDERSTOOD CAMPAIGN OF 1759

Even the most gushing publicity department of the most aggressive tourist agency could hardly make the "standard story" of the Battle of the Plains more hackneyed or less truthful than it is.

But so deeply grooved are all the old perversions, and so long does it take to get any popular error out of any well-worn grooves, that perhaps I might be excused for making this little critical digression, in order to set before those who do not specialise in history a few of the fundamental facts which make all the difference between theatrical perversions and the really dramatic truth. I should add that although the limits of this paper forbid references to the original evidence — references which, if complete, would fill more space than this whole paper fills — yet the few points mentioned here are based entirely on this evidence, without the slightest regard to any intervening books (the author's own included) and that this evidence (from both sides and from every point of view) is now so nearly final that practically all important matters stand revealed. The Dominion Archives can alone supply any impartial and scientific student with evidence enough to arrive at something very near to what any final judgment ought to be.

To begin with a few perversions.

(1). To say that Wolfe came here "supported by a fleet" is to put the cart before the horse. British sea-power, both mercantile and naval, was a vastly greater factor in that rightly named "Maritime War" than land-power was or could be, simply because it divided its enemies and united its friends all over the world. British oversea armies could no more work without ships than they could march without legs; and this was

especially true at Quebec, where Wolfe's little army was really no more than a most efficient landing party from an overwhelming fleet. Including the crews of all supply and transport vessels, there were three times as many seamen as landsmen on the British side. But this difference in mere numbers by no means shows the vastly greater preponderance of sea-power over land-power in every other way. To begin with, the source of all decisive armed strength was in the warring mother countries, not in America. Consequently, the mother country whose sea-power could make the Atlantic a good road for its own ships but a bad one for its enemy's was certain to win in the end, no matter what the respective armies did. But these respective armies were themselves vitally dependent on sea-power. For the inland waterways were infinitely better than any roads, even the best; and few were even tolerably good in those days. Even to-day, whenever distances are long and heavy transport is concerned, a hundred tons can go by sea as well as ten by train or one by road with horses. What, therefore, must have been the preponderance in favour of the water when trains did not exist and roads were very few and very bad indeed?

But man is a land animal; and he naturally knows little of the sea. So we must expect him to misinterpret amphibious history in terms of his own environment. One might suppose that most readers would appreciate the wonderful navi-

gational feat of bringing 277 sail up the St. Lawrence without any aids to navigation in the way of buoys and lights, without good charts, and (despite the many French-traitor-pilot tales) without any real dependence on the local pilots (who were almost worthless in working up a concentrated fleet). But, except for the "Damn me!" of "Old Killick", they rarely see any account of how the feat was done.

(2). Wolfe did not theatrically repeat Gray's *Elegy* as he came down to the final attack in the same boat with some of the forlorn hope, when silence had been ordered under pain of death; but he did repeat it, appropriately and dramatically, in another boat, on the afternoon of the day before, when making his final reconnaissance with a few staff officers.

(3). Circumstances, both at the time and ever since, conspired to make the Battle of the Plains one of the so-called decisive battles of the world — and, in one sense, it was decisive; for it marked the turn of the tide within its own restricted area. But, in another sense, this term is quite misleading, because the Plains did not decide the conquest of Canada, which required another campaign; also because the conquest was itself determined vastly more by naval and by civil forces, both in a universal and a local sense, than by the actual armies on the spot; and finally because Quiberon not only clinched Quebec but made the next campaign an inevitable triumph for those who were thenceforth free from even challenges at sea.

Quiberon, with its universally decisive effect, settled the fate of New France. Quebec was a mere local step by the way.

Quebec happened just at the precise psychological moment, and in the perfectly dramatic way, to take the public by storm. 1759 saw the turn of the tide for British arms by land and sea; while each new victory made the deeply apprehended French invasion of the Mother Country more and more unlikely to occur. Things had not been going well in previous years. But now the tide was turning. English-speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic were being drawn together by their interest in the conquest of New France; and Quebec became a word to conjure with. Next, to heighten the effect, the news at first was most discouraging. The joint invasion was apparently about to fail again. Amherst's forces were held up along the line of Lake Champlain for want of local sea-power; while Wolfe's first attack (on Montcalm at Montmorency) was an utter failure, besides being an egregious blunder too.

Then, just at the very moment which a supreme publicity agent would have chosen, Wolfe's final plan succeeded. It was no more than a second best, and strategically wrong, as we shall presently see. But it was managed to perfection by as finely worked a combination of naval and military forces as British history can show; and though this consummate combination was, as usual, ignored by the public, all the incidental details happened in just the very way the

press and public love; while the false theatrical versions of some truly dramatic stories, like Wolfe and Gray's *Elegy*, added greatly to the popular effect. The boatwork by night; the scaling of the cliff (popularised not because it was extremely well done as a military feat but because it was misunderstood to have been an astonishingly acrobatic "stunt"); the famous volleys (absurdly misrepresented as having been fired by the whole line together, instead of having been only single volleys, fired by battalions, and followed by a "general", i.e., collective independent); the dashing down of Highland muskets and the charge with Highland claymores (which deranged the line and caused undue Highland losses later on); the defeat of greatly exagerated French numbers under the still more exaggerated walls of the "frowning fortress" of Quebec; the death of the supposedly outwitted Montcalm and all his Generals; and, finally, the death of the really noble Wolfe in the very arms of victory — well, what more could press and public want? Hawke's absolutely decisive victory at Quiberon two months later not only dispelled the real dangers of invasion but settled the fate of New France. Yet, being at sea, and coming after pent-up emotions had already been discharged profusely, it had to be less famous than the Battle of the Plains.

Pray let me add that I do not for a moment mean to belittle either Wolfe or his admirably planned and executed manœuvres, fight, and victory. But I do want to draw attention to the

popular perversions which, here as elsewhere, distort the relative values of historic events out of all due proportion. Moreover, it would be grossly unfair to the French, and correspondingly belittling to the British, if I failed to stress the many successes which, in a purely military sense, were all the more honourable to the French because adverse sea-power and lack of general resources were forcing them to fight with one arm tied behind their back.

Ten years before the Battle of the Plains La Galissonnière revived French strategy along the three great rivers by sending Céloron to make the French claims good to the whole Ohio Valley. Next year (1750) Christopher Gist went there prospecting for the British Ohio Company. For three years more the French and British manœuvred against each other without drawing sword; while, during the third, George Washington appeared in history for the first time as a surveyor and militia officer sent to assert Virginia's claims. This brought on the inevitable clash of arms at Fort Necessity in 1754, when, on the first memorable 4th of July, Washington was forced to surrender. Next year, though the mother countries were still at peace in Europe, their armies met in America, where Braddock's Defeat in the Ohio Valley was only partially offset by Johnson's victory at Lake George. The British expedition against Niagara never went farther than Oswego, where it left a garrison as a thorn in the side of the French. Then, in 1756, Montcalm came out and

won four successive victories in four successive years, as we shall presently see. After his death there was another campaign, when the French, under the gallant Lévis, won a salving victory at what might well be called the Second Battle of the Plains; while Vauquelin fought a magnificent rearguard action in *L'Atalante* against the vanguard of the fleet that forced the whole French army to retire. The arms of France thus left Quebec with all the honours of war, both by land and sea.

(4). Now let us hark back for a final glance at Wolfe and Montcalm; and let us take Wolfe first. We have already seen how well the Battle of the Plains lent itself to popular perversion. But this popular perversion, which has lasted to the present day, should never blind us to Wolfe's real merits and very sterling qualities. Only, we must remember that successes happening at times and places which cause the greatest emotional attention then and thereafter need not be correspondingly great in a naval or military way.

Three very simple illustrations will prove this to the hilt. First, when Admiral Vernon "took Porto Bello with six ships" (in 1739) both Lords and Commons presented their congratulations to the King. Much greater naval actions than this audacious stroke have attracted far less attention. But that might have been because they had no such tag as Jenkins's Ear had been for some time past; and because they had not been fought by an admiral who was also an M.P. and inventor of

the prophetic tag that he would "take Porto Bello with six ships". Secondly, admirers of Mr. Pickwick will remember the portrait of the bareheaded Marquess of Granby, in his famous Warburg attitude, over the inn at Dorking. Now, Granby might or might not have been a great cavalry (or even army) commander if he had had the chance. But the fame he did acquire in 1761 was due mostly to the fact that he was the first Englishmen of his kind to cut a good figure on the European scene in a war which had not been so successful there. And when the real merits of his charge were further impressed on the public by the fact that his hat and wig blew off, why, of course he became a popular hero. Hatless and wigless he soon appeared on tavern signboards all over England. Beer and glory did the rest. Thirdly, Sherman's March to the Sea in 1864 was easily the least difficult among all his masterstrokes of war. He said himself: "Were I to express my measure of the relative importance of the march to the sea, and of that from Savannah northward, I would place the former at one, and the latter at ten — or the maximum". But "Marching through Georgia" happened to catch the public eye while nothing else was on the central stage, and while the whole Northern press was itching to write something up to the very top of its bent.

Now, Wolfe's famous battle was a greater naval and military feat than any of these three grossly over-estimated instances; while Wolfe himself was a singularly fine character and a most

excellent professional soldier, who might have become a great commander had he enjoyed any future chances. Moreover, as already stated, his plan was very well conceived and executed almost to perfection. So all that can be said in praise of him is fully justifiable — except, and here's the crucial exception, that his plan was only a second best, that while it took Quebec, it failed to take New France, and that this entailed another arduous campaign next year.

To make a long story short I should explain (to those who may not have had occasion to follow up the strategy of this whole war) that New France must have fallen if the main French army at Quebec surrendered, that this army would die if it went north into the resourceless wilds, that the British fleet cut if off from the east and the south, and that its one possible line of supply and retreat was to the west, preferably of course by the St. Lawrence, so far as this was feasible, but also by the single upper road which led the whole way west to Montreal. Now, at Quebec itself, and for a good many miles west, there was a lower road, in the valley of the St. Charles, which eventually joined the upper road. If, therefore, Wolfe could entrench astride of this upper road, westward of its junction with the lower road, then, while the fleet barred the river abreast of these entrenchments, Montcalm would have no choice but to fight, starve, or surrender; and both sides knew that Wolfe's army of highly trained picked regulars would, in such a position, be able to prevent at all

events the main body of Montcalm's mixed forces from ever getting past.

When Wolfe was ill in August he had asked his brigadiers to suggest a plan of their own; and they had suggested a landing at Pointe-aux-Trembles, twenty-two miles above Quebec, at a spot fulfilling the strategical conditions mentioned above. Then, on the 3rd of September, he broke camp on the left bank of the Montmorency, just beyond the Falls, let non-committal manœuvres go on for a week, up towards Pointe-aux-Trembles; and finally, on the 10th, formed his own plan of landing two, instead of twenty-two, miles above Quebec, so as to bring on an immediate action in the open field, across the Plains of Abraham. This second-best plan succeeded to admiration, as all the world knows. But the point is whether, with the almost omnipotent fleet, he could not have feinted here, or elsewhere near Quebec, and then cut off the whole French army, by landing at the better strategic point twenty miles higher — or somewhere else that would serve the same turn — thus ensuring the complete surrender of New France.

At this point I beg leave to say that these criticisms of Wolfe come from far higher authorities than I can claim to be. Having been obliged to learn both the ground and the original evidence (both French and British) I have often gone over the Quebec battlefields as guide to naval and military men of great experience, not only in war but sometimes in very high command as well;

and I have nearly always found them criticising Wolfe in the foregoing sense.

Excluding French and French Canadians, as possibly a little partial — though I know some who are quite as impartial as anyone can be; excluding also Americans and Japanese (whose naval and military men I have also guided) in case they might be over-neutral — though here again I know some who are equally keen and impartial; I come to British experts, men who would naturally think the best about Wolfe; and I take from these none but those who have been themselves Commanders-in-chief afloat or ashore. Two afloat were, first, Admiral-of-the-Fleet Sir Edward Seymour, Commander-in-chief in China during the Boxer Rebellion, a very keen student of war history, and one who in his autobiography makes special reference to his tour of the battle-fields here; secondly, Admiral-of-the-Fleet Lord Jellicoe, whom all know as the first Commander-in-chief afloat during the Great War. Both thought Wolfe's strategy wrong, as did the late Sir Julian Corbett, the universally known naval historian.

But lest anyone might conceivably suppose their opinions were tinged with a little naval prejudice — which is of course absurd — I shall now mention three other Commanders-in-chief, all of whom were soldiers who had led great armies in the field: — Field Marshals Lords Roberts, French, and Wolseley. (Here again, as with the naval historian just mentioned, so with the Hon-

ourable John Fortescue, the historian of the British Army: he was and is most critical of Wolfe's plan). Lord Roberts and Lord French said very much the same as the two great Admirals; while Lord Wolseley, who knew Quebec and Canada very well indeed, epitomised his carefully considered judgment in the following written words: — "Wolfe was a first-rate Commanding officer of a Battalion; but, in the only campaign he ever conducted, he did not, according to my views of men who have conducted campaigns, display any originality or any great genius for war."

(5). Now let us take our final glance at Montcalm, who came out to Quebec in 1756, at the age of forty-four, with a well earned reputation as one of the rising stars of the whole French Army, and whose really wonderful services in defence of doomed New France certainly raised him to an assured position among the few great Commanders of the whole New World. For if we consider, however hastily, what were the enormous odds against him — not only on the side of his open and honourable enemies but on the part of his backbiting friends — we cannot fail to wonder at all that he accomplished when forced to fight insidious enemies in rear as well as those who, based on a sea-power of overwhelming strength, were bent on the conquest of misgoverned, corrupted, and perishing New France.

A word should be said in passing about the original evidence, nearly all the most cogent part of which is now accessible to students, but much

of which was not accessible to previous generations, whose writers were naturally apt to fill up the gaps by surmises made in accordance with their own national and individual prejudices. Moreover, the fall of New France was, quite as naturally, no more popular with French and French Canadians than the American Revolution was with the British, or the three abortive American invasions of Canada (Colonial, Revolutionary, and "1812") have hitherto been in the States. So, one way or other, Montcalm never came into his own till the present Dominion Archivist made the first proper bibliography of the original evidence about him; till the first French Canadian who ever did him "knowledgeable" justice was found in the historian who now presides over the Royal Society of Canada; and, finally, till La Section Historique de l'Etat-Major de l'Armée published its admirable monograph on *Montcalm au Combat de Carillon* in 1909, the very year that Marshal Foch was directing all staff studies as Commandant de l'Ecole Supérieure de Guerre. To this I should like to add that all really expert historians who write in English now see the greatness of Montcalm, and that all the expert naval and military Commanders, British and foreign alike, whom I have accompanied over the fields of battle at Quebec expressed their admiration for him as a master in the art of war.

To conclude by trying to make three crucial factors of his dire problem clear: first, the disabling drawbacks on his own side; secondly, the ulti-

mately overwhelming forces of the enemy, mainly due to sea-power; and thirdly, the desperate nature of the four campaigns in which, unique among the world's commanders, he won four successive victories over those who speak the English tongue.

First: the disabling drawbacks on his own side. It used to be thought, and is still either said or tacitly assumed (sometimes by those who ought to know better) that Montcalm was the really supreme Commander of all the forces in New France. Nothing could be further from the truth. New France was an autocracy without a local autocrat. She was as much like a Royal Province in France herself as edictory powers could make her. But in France a Royal Province had its Royal Master (or his Master) close at hand; whereas New France was three thousand miles away, cut off completly for nearly half the year, and changed by environment in many important ways. In order that all provincial leaders should always be dependent on the central power their functions were designed to overlap. Now and then a great Intendant, such as Talon, or a very masterful Governor, like Frontenac, would make the system work. But in Montcalm's dire days the governmental powers in doomed New France were all parts and no whole — no, not even a united whole in battle, if the Governor or the Intendant could serve their own ends better by interfering with Montcalm.

Montcalm's own military position, difficult enough at first, became impossible as time went

on. He would have gladly resigned on several occasions; and it was only the highest sense of duty to a ruined cause that prevented him from going home after Vaudreuil's contemptible proceedings in 1758 — proceedings which followed Montcalm's great victory at Carillon (that is, Ticonderoga). Technically, Montcalm commanded only *les troupes de la terre*, that is, the French regulars from France. The French-Canadian regulars (*troupes de la marine*) and the French-Canadian militiamen (who theoretically included all able-bodied men) were under the Governor-General, who also was in supreme command, if and when he would assume such sole responsibility; but who was likewise told to "defer" as much as possible to Montcalm's "advice" in purely military matters. The French seamen were semi-independent in certain ways. The Indians were under their own chiefs, were told to regard the Governor as their father, but naturally took Montcalm to be the true Great War Chief, and justly resented the way in which they were cheated by the infamous Intendant. Moreover, Vaudreuil, the Governor, was (in every possible military way) a vain and fussy fool, wholly incompetent to conduct a campaign himself, but intensely jealous of Montcalm, bent on thwarting him at every turn, and, though personally honest, equally bent on letting the absolutely corrupt and corrupting Intendant Bigot have a perfectly free hand. Now, Bigot practically controlled all the supply and transport services of all the forces in New France. So here was

another incongruous element to help the parts against the whole. To complete the disunion, Vaudreuil, a French Canadian born, set French and French Canadians by the ears; while Bigot, who was French-of-France by birth, was quite impartial as to whom he robbed, traduced, supported, or divided — always supposing that the profits came to him.

Let me be perfectly clear about Vaudreuil and Montcalm. First, let me repeat that I am only concerned with their respective values as commanders, and not with their private characters or even their characters as non-military men. Next, let me point out that Montcalm had his human faults, that he lacked the almost superhuman patience of Marlborough or Washington, and that he did not make sufficient allowance for some quite justifiable environmental variations of a purely French-Canadian kind. But here comes the very pointed question whether Marlborough, Washington, and Fabius Maximus, put together, or even triune in a single man, could possibly have harmonised the distracting conditions of New France under Bigot and Vaudreuil. Finally, let me say that Vaudreuil really loved his native country, and that he had some real justification for resenting certain French-of-France assumptions of superiority over French-Canadian things and people. Moreover, his natural pride in French-Canadian prowess was justified by the many gallant feats of arms performed by French Canadians in the century between Dollard's defence of the

Long Sault in 1660 and Lévis' attack at Ste. Foy in 1760. But Montcalm did not undervalue the native spirit of the French Canadians; while all his words, plans, and actions bear witness to his military worth. Vaudreuil, on the other hand, was far worse than worthless as a military man. Just read his own most self-condemning words.

To sum up: there were two different kinds of French — the French-of-France and French Canadians; and three different overlapping authorities at headquarters — Vaudreuil the fool, Bigot the knave, and Montcalm, who, though the only real expert, commanded only one of the five different forces, could be over-ruled by Vaudreuil, and had to depend on Bigot for all supplies and transport.

Secondly, the ultimately overwhelming forces of the enemy, mainly due to sea-power. Of course there was some disunion on the British side, especially among the very dissimilar American Colonies. There also was jealousy on the part of Colonials against Imperials; and there were all the usual misunderstandings when such different forces meet for any common end. But Pitt was both the greatest of all civilian ministers of war and the greatest unifier of the English-speaking peoples. So, with the inestimable advantages of sea-power on his side, he kept the ever-growing forces of invasion at work against the ever-dwindling resources of New France until the inevitable end was reached at Montreal in 1760, when only two thousand French regulars remained to lay down the arms which had kept the British so long and

so gallantly at bay. The year before (the fatal 1759) the grand totals on both sides were about 40,000 British against 20,000 French, that is, of all kinds put together, on both sides, and all over the area of operations. But while the British were well supplied the French were half starved already; and all French disabilities were further intensified as time went on.

Remembering all this, what are we to think of Montcalm, who, under these terrible conditions, won four successive victories in four successive years: first, at Oswego, thus driving in the British salient and restoring the indispensable French link in the chain between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi; next, at Fort William Henry, where he did all that could be done to clear this vital flank of New France from its most imminent danger (and where, by the way, he was absolutely guiltless of the massacre which he and his staff risked their lives in stopping); then at Ticonderoga, where he defeated four times his own numbers, as impartially told in the French monograph on *Carillon;* and, lastly, at Montmorency, where he and Lévis took immediate advantage of all the British mistakes? Organiser, strategist, tactician, and every unprejudiced soldier's beau idéal of what a fighting leader ought to be, Montcalm is worthy of a place beside Lee himself and Stonewall Jackson; for, great as their drawbacks were, they had no such disunion among their forces, and never such powerful gangs of criminally false friends to stab them in the rear.

But how about the Battle of the Plains, where Montcalm is generally supposed to have contradicted everything else in his whole career? Well, the original evidence convincingly disproves all these unfounded suppositions, and, what's more, proves that Montcalm's military powers were at their very best before and on this fatal day. For let us remember here that all the disabilities which beset him elsewhere were at their very worst during the Quebec campaign, when Vaudreuil the fool and Bigot the knave were interferingly present all through, when supplies were scarcer than ever before, disunion growing, discontent increasing, and the effective fighting forces decreasing every day by disease and desertion. Moreover, there was the big detachment of regulars which had to be sent to Montreal, because Montreal then, as in the next campaign, was Amherst's first objective.

Let anyone who knows anything of war examine the state of the commisariat, transport, and even ordnance branches under Bigot; let him read Vaudreuil's idiotic orders in his own silly words; and then let him remember that Montcalm was the commander, and on sufferance only, of half-a-dozen different forces which never made a single army — French regulars, French-Canadian regulars and militiamen, seamen of various kinds, non-combatant branches of the whole distracted Service, and a few badly cheated and unstable Indians; let him remember that while everything on the French side was known in a very short time

on the British, very little on the British side was known on the French, and then it was probably garbled by Vaudreuil, if he heard it first, before he passed it on to Montcalm: finally, let anyone who knows anything of war remember that while the British fleet was overwhelmingly strong afloat it formed an impenetrable screen behind which the British army could manœuvre in perfect secrecy and safety, and that it also served the staff with all the latest news by means of visual signals over the whole thirty miles of river front, from Montmorency up to Pointe-aux-Trembles: let anyone who knows anything of war remember all this, and then let him think out the problem that Montcalm was set to solve.

For ten whole nights and days (from the day that Wolfe broke camp at Montmorency on the 3rd of September to when he fought the battle) Montcalm had no means whatever of getting any reliable intelligence in time. Yet, through his own strategic insight, and from the manœuvres of ships and landing parties on the British side, he was led to spare what strength he could for guarding Pointe-aux-Trembles. But this was not all, nor even what was most important; for he actually divined Wolfe's own quite secret plan and did all he could to prevent its execution.

On the 5th he sent a battalion of French regulars to guard the heights between Cap Rouge (seven miles above Quebec, where the great bridge stands now) and the famous Plains, just outside the City. On the 7th Vaudreuil withdrew this

battalion. On the 10th Wolfe made his secret plan (secret even from his brigadiers) of trying to land at what is now Wolfe's Cove, just beyond the Plains. All ranks and ratings on both sides still had their eyes on Pointe-aux-Trembles, more than twenty miles above Quebec, and on the chief French encampment, from one to seven miles below Quebec, where the only big fight had taken place already, and where feints (which might mask real attacks) were still going on: that is, all ranks and ratings on both sides *except the two commanders* — Wolfe, who had made the new and secret plan, known only to the few chief naval men concerned, and Montcalm, who had divined it. After the manœuvres on the 11th, masked as they were by the fleet, and of unknown meaning to both sides, Montcalm, on the 12th, ordered the same French regulars to camp at Wolfe's Cove itself. This meant that Vergor, a perfect "rotter" and a friend of Bigot's and Vaudreuil's, would be superseded by a good French colonel with a whole battalion of French regulars — enough to prevent any surprise ascent of the cliffs before Montcalm's main force had reached the Plains. But again Vaudreuil gave counter-orders, this time quite angrily and accompanied by the historic imbecility that "those English haven't got wings — I'll see about it myself to-morrow." Vaudreuil's to-morrow never came; for Wolfe surprised Vergor and gained the heights.

"There they are, where they have no right to be!" exclaimed Montcalm, as he ordered out the

whole force to the Plains, except a mere camp guard. Vaudreuil then issued counter-orders; and actually told Montcalm to take *one hundred men* and see what the British were about. (Here, as all through, he stands condemned by his own written words). Montcalm, however, managed to get most of his men to the Plains, where he did not rush them into action, but drew them up properly, and called all seniors to the front, out of sight of the British, to see if anybody had any further and authentic news. Nobody had. Then, as Wolfe's right seemed not yet formed, Montcalm attacked, with the result we know. He was thwarted by his own side to the very last. There were twenty-five field guns available. But he was only allowed the use of three. And so the tale goes on.

He has been often blamed for this attack; and Vaudreuil backbit him more than ever after his death. But what else could he do? He could not retreat by the lower road with the British on his flank and with ships and men to stop him where the two roads joined. He could not subsist his force two days inside Quebec, whose rotten walls were worthless. And every hour's delay would strengthen Wolfe's position; for by that evening the naval brigade (usually omitted in the usual books) had hove up all the materials for a siege, including 47 guns, the heaviest weighing 6¼ tons — hove all this up the cliffs, while the army had dug in, impenetrably in, across the Plains and the one good road to Montreal. There was no

use in waiting for the detachment from the neighbourhood of Pointe-aux-Trembles, because any additional strength gained by this would be more than offset by Wolfe's own additional strength. Fight, starve, or surrender were the only alternatives. There are other factors in the problem. But they must be studied from the original evidence; and we must stop this over-long discussion here. Might I, however, end by asking the armchair critics of Montcalm what infallible alternative they think he could have followed with success?

Wolfe has a fine inscription over the spot on which he breathed his last:

HERE DIED WOLFE VICTORIOUS

Wolfe and Montcalm together have a unique inscription on the monument erected to their joint renown:

MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT

But the Montcalm monument follows perverted history in showing him only in defeat. Some Frenchman or some French Canadian would doubtless compose a far finer inscription in their own expressive tongue. But I hope that if and when they do they will convey the same idea as I endeavoured to convey in what I suggested as an additional inscription over his tomb in the

Ursuline Chapel. A suggestion had been made that the Canadian Daughters of the Empire might place crossed colours on Wolfe's hideous monument in beautiful Westminster Abbey (a monument which never looked so well as when half hidden by Canadian colours massed there while the units owning them were fighting at the front). These two colours were to have been the Jack of Queen Anne (as used in Wolfe's day) crossed with the present Union Jack, which should have been "de-faced" with a golden Maple Leaf. On the supporting shield the suggested inscription was to have been this:—

COMMEMORATING
CANADA IN ARMS
BESIDE HER MOTHER COUNTRIES
DURING THE GREAT WAR

What I also suggested for the tomb of Montcalm (with simultaneous inauguration) was: crossed *Fleurs-de-lys* and *Tricolore*, with these words on the shield:—

QUATRE FOIS VICTORIEUX
UNE FOIS VAINCU
TOUJOURS
AU GRAND HONNEUR
DES ARMES DE LA FRANCE

V. MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Language.* Suppose you went to a distant part of the world and there you found people speaking English as Shakespeare heard them speak at Warwick Fair: would you think that kind of English particularly bad? Well, this — of course with many variations from environment — is not unlike what an educated modern Frenchman finds among the French Canadians, whose educated speech is still very reminiscent of Bossuet and Molière and the days of the Grand Monarque. Even the fact that most of them call their native tongue *françа's* (and not *français*) is reminiscent of the days when Charlevoix and others found the people of New France speaking without the least outlandish accent. They spoke the French of France in those days; and some educated French Canadians speak, while still more write, the French of France to-day.

It is not, however, of the highly educated that I am speaking here, but of the proverbial man in the street and, still more, out on the farm, who, whatever his tongue may be — English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, or what not — sticks to the older forms all the more closely the farther away he lives, both mentally and physically, from the central home of his ancestral

tongue. For, as everybody knows, the older forms of all life survive longest in remote communities; linguistic life is no more an exception to this biologic law than any other form; and just as Portuguese is older in the Azores than at Lisbon, Spanish older in South America than at Madrid, and English older in New England than in Old, so, now that New France and Old have lived apart for several generations, we must expect to find the average French Canadians older in their speech than modern Frenchmen are.

Nor, if we leave such circles as that formed by our own Section I and by their congeners, and if we keep an open ear among real habitants (and even among their congeners in towns) shall we be disappointed — unless, indeed, we happen to be performing specimens of that kind of English-speaking tourist who can't see why their own "Parisian French" is not the only kind of French worth speaking. The tricks of speech these specimens perform are found offensive now and then. But why? Why should not everyone be pleased? The really perfect specimens themselves are quite delighted to find they speak a kind of French which is absolutely unintelligible to those who speak the "French-Canadian patois," while F.R.S.C.'s and all their congeners in France are too polite not to pretend that they can understand this "pure Parisian French"; and so these perfect specimens go on their way rejoicing. But the offended French Canadians? Well, should not they be happiest of all? For who else enjoys so

many opportunities of hearing a kind of noise which even French and French Canadians, put together, could never have invented for themselves?

Speech differs of course among all French Canadians, as among ourselves, by social classes, education, locality, or calling. But, taken in a general way, with emphasis on that in which it differs from the general French of France, and with special stress on how it is spoken by the average habitant and by his urban congeners, I would venture to call it a variant made up of excellent materials and subject to peculiar dangers, of which Anglicisms are the worst. It is not, emphatically not, a patois; though it does contain some elements of several dialects current in France two centuries ago. It is, first of all, an elder form of French — and good French too. Next, it contains a fusion (perhaps I should say infusion) of old French dialects, Norman and other cognate forms preponderating. Finally, it has varied from environment: — from daily contact with local conditions, from former contact with the Indians, from contact with naval and military life, from an intimate contact with waterways greatly surpassing that of the stay-at-home French, and from contact with English-speaking people, both in the States and Canada.

When, however a *habitant* says he will *acertainer* he is not using a bad Anglicism but an excellent obsolete French word. Did not François Premier himself tell the Parlement de Paris, on

the 9th of April, 1526, *Que Nous sommes duement acertenés? Bachelier* and *bacon* have a similar history; the English words coming from the old French, which are now obsolete in Paris but flourishing in Canada. The emphatic *assavoir* is still used here; so is *fiable*, now only expressible in France by some such circumlocution as *digne de confiance*. People sometimes say *cheux eux* and *ganif;* and astonished habitants always exclaim *cray-yez?* In spite of locks the doors are still *barrées*. And in a single line of Molière you can find two much more obsolete French words still used in Canada: "Demain, du grand matin, je l'enverrai quérir." *Du* means *dès*, and *habitants* still go in quest of what they want: *je va' le q'ri'*.

Norman and cognate dialects preponderating, some northern peculiarities still occur. Such are: *a* for *elle; i* for *il, ils, lui*, or *y; amain* = handy; *espérer* = wait; *houiner* = whinny; *bers* = cradle; and *escousse* as a space of time instead of the space run in order to make a good jump. Pronunciation of vowels is decidedly broad, with *ah* for *é* sounds and *aw* for *ah*. There is a sibilant *dz* for *d;* and the final *d,r,s*, and *t* are often sounded where they are now mute in France.

A few military terms are very common in ordinary talk. What we colloquially call our "things" are always known as "booty" — *butin*. The big round "steamer" on the winter stove is a *bombe*. A fur cap is a *casque*. And, as we saw when speaking of the spoke-like fences running out from the village hold of Charlesbourg, the

village itself, in remoter districts, is still sometimes called *le fort.* Naval and nautical terms abound in everyday talk — a very natural thing in an oversea colony that was founded along its waterways. Winter snow roads are marked by buoys — *balises;* and if you miss the channel between them you'll founder — *caler*, and become, like a derelict — *dégradé.* You must *embarquer* into and *débarquer* out of any sort of vehicle ashore. A mended cart is said to have been "refitted" — *radouée.* A well-dressed woman is what our own seamen would call "fit to go foreign" — *bi'n grê-yée.* Horses are always "moored" — *amarrés*, enemies reconciled by being *ramarrés* together, and winter heralded on the 25th of November by a regular broadside of snow — *la bordée de la Sainte-Cathérine.*

Indians words are comparatively rare. *Tobogane* and *mocassin* are familiar to every one. Others are more recondite: like *sassaquaw*, "no end of a row"; *micouenne*, the big wooden spoon for the camp kettle; *ouaouaron*, an onomatopœic name for the bull-frog; and *ouannaniche*, the land-locked salmon of Lake St. John.

The use of English idioms is a very real danger; and this insidious form of barbarism has already perverted the truer ways of speech. French and English, however excellent apart, make an unhappy mixture; and it is to be regretted that pronunciation, and (to a still greater extent) intonation, are affected by an environment which is displacing the richer modulations of the finest French without

even substituting the richer modulations of the finest English. Most of the common Anglicisms are merely bad superfluities forced into use by the closer pressure of modern "Anglo-Saxondom." Steamers and trains being unknown until generations after the old French time we naturally hear of *stimeurs*, of "boarding" *les chars*, and even of a traction-engine as *une espèce de stime! Un Françaʼs de France*, who was superintending the erection of the Champlain monument in Quebec, could not get "un cric" till someone thought of *un djack-scrou*. The *habitant* will *clairer* his land, curse with all the English he knows, and sometimes get *un blackeye sur le nez*. When husband and wife go to town they can enjoy *sand-wedges* together, and she may buy *des gants de kid*, while he chooses a pair of trousers from *une grande variété de pantings*.

Canadianisms proper are quite different, and altogether justifiable. In a country of canoes and waterways certain words soon became locally specialized. *Aviron* is always "paddle"; *sauter*, to "run" the rapids; *bateau*, a slow jib-and-main-sail river cargo-boat of some 40 tons. *Portage* has actually been taken by the Academy, which stooped to conquer an immortality of ridicule as well, by inventing this wonderful example: — "Depuis Québec jusqu'à Montréal, il y a tant de portages!" *Refoul* is the strong Acadian contraction of *refoulement*, describing the sudden tumult of subsidence as the mighty ebb rushes out of the Bay of Fundy. Life in the woods has

turned *brûlé* into a noun, meaning a burnt patch. *Bois-brûlé*, however, is something very different. It means "half-breed," in allusion to the darkening of the "pale-face" complexion. A road through sticky black earth is a *pot-à-brai*, or sailor's pitch-pot. And "boucan," "the place where hams are smoked," has become *boucane*, meaning smoke itself, of any kind at all. Lumbering is responsible for the *cage* — raft, *cageux* — raftsman, *crible* — "crib," and *glissoire* — "shoot." Sugaring has *l'érablière* — the "sugar-bush" of maple trees; *la sucrerie*, where sugar is made; *dalleaux* (nautically "scuppers") — spouts for "tapping" trees; *mouvette* — a stirabout "paddle" for the *brassin* — thickening "syrup"; *cassot* — tiny birch-bark cornucopia, full of "setting" sugar; and *la tire* — both the "pulling" of half-hardened sugar and the "pulled" sugar itself. Snow and ice have their own vocabulary. Canadians go to *le patinoir*, not "le skating-rink" affected by Parisians. *Les bordages* are shore ice; *pont de glace*, any stretch of ice capable of bearing traffic across water; *croûte*, "crust" of snow, good going for *raquetteurs* — snowshoers. The chief drawbacks to the pleasure of winter driving are the *baraudage*, "slewing," of the sleighs — *carrioles; bourguignon* — frozen clots after rain; *un chemin boulant*, where hoofs "ball up"; and *cahots* — not the bumpings of the carriage, as in France, but the transverse, gouged-out snow-ruts which cause the bumpings. *Frasil*, snow hanging suspended in water, is the natural foe

of every miller. This "fraw-zee" is from "fraisil" — "coal-dust". Extremes meet in similitude.

There are few words to show that the seamy side of life has called for special terms. But the frequent use of *zigonner*, "to saw a horse's mouth," is one proof of the lamentable fact that *habitants*, and most other French Canadians too, are among the very worst horse-masters in the world. Unpleasing turns of thought, too, are revealed by the universal word for women — *les créatures*, by the bogey-name for the Devil — *la Gripette*, and by the feminine form of "tom-fool" — *la bêtasse*.

But, in spite of these exceptions, and partly by reason of the general contempt for the opposite fault of affected fine language — *parler en termes* — the *habitant's* own new-found phraseology will pass with the best. Even his *distance de quelques arpents* is correct enough, where farms are staked out "on the square," and the side of an acre naturally becomes a fixed measure of length (moreover, he has French precedents to warrant it). *Fumez donc* is no bad form of inviting you to sit down and spend the evening; nor could people whose axes are worth half a chest of tools describe a penniless but capable man better than by calling him *un homme à la hache*. And what an old time charm there is in the everyday remark about any honest pair of lovers — *le cavalier fréquente sa blonde;* in the high road being still *le chemin du Roi;* and even in the word *octroi*, the Canadian use of which, in the original sense of "assistance granted," takes us far back to the old largesse of

princes. How deeply, too, must the patriarchal lore have touched a popular fancy which saw a yearly manna for the teeming rivers in the infinitude of those flies so aptly called *la manne des poissons*. And, surely, the name peculiar to Laurencian twilight is drawn from the very source of poetry itself; for, at the chill of sunset, the warmed hill-tops smoke with thickening mist, the afterglow burns through the dusking brown, and then, when darkness and light have met awhile — *à la brunante*, the Canadian day is over.

I venture to think that you will find the French-Canadian forms of French not only peculiar and, in their way, unique — unique throughout the world — but good of their kind and full of interest as well.

2. The *calèche* (pronounced on the tourist-haunted cabstands as *calash*) is a unique survival of an old French vehicle, now probably extinct everywhere else; and only surviving in Quebec because here, if anywhere, the tourist likes to feel "as he should" — and, still more, "as *she* should."

3. P.Q. is not a Prohibition Province. But it is also not a drunken one. Doubtless there were some "good old days" when it was; though I am inclined to doubt whether there ever was a recognised bar-room query in Quebec such as some old West Indians must often have heard in their youth. "Drink, Sah? Yassah! — Drinky for drunky or drinky for dry?" However this may be, Quebec certainly had the first of all governmentally-licensed inns and bar-rooms in Canada;

for in 1648 the Governor-in-Council appointed Jacques Boisdon (bibulous cognomen!) first and only innkeeper for the City of Quebec, "provided always that the said Boisdon settles in the square in front of the Church, so that the people may go there to warm themselves; and that he keeps nobody in his house during High Mass, sermons, catechism, or Vespers."

4. *The first play ever performed in Canada* was Corneille's *Le Cid*, which was given before the Governor and all the Jesuit Fathers in the store-room belonging to the *Cent Associés* in 1646.

5. The old Intendant's *Palais* must be unique in having been, first, a brewery, established by Talon in 1671, then his own official residence, (where the Superior Council sat, and where the infamous Bigot revelled while New France was on the road to ruin) then barracks (in which lodged some of Arnold's Americans after their wonderful march from Cambridge to Quebec) then, after 112 years of military possession, Dominion Government property; and now a brewery again.

6. Quebec is unique in the whole New World as being the burial place of five Governors-in-chief, from Champlain in 1635 to the Duke of Richmond in 1819. Frontenac's heart, enclosed in a small leaden casket, is said to have been sent to his Comtesse — *la Divine*. But, so the story goes, and it may well be true, she haughtily refused to keep after death what she could never call her own in life. Consequently, it was returned to

Quebec, where, with the rest of that warrior's remains, it has passed through two great fires, one when the Récollet church was burnt in 1796, the other when the Basilica was burnt only the other day.

7. From old to new. Quebec lays claim to what, almost forty years ago (1885) was then *the longest electrical power-transmission in the world* — from Montmorency to Quebec, seven miles by wire. How true this claim may be I won't pretend to say. But we do know that by far the *longest suspension span, and by far the heaviest too, in all the world of bridges* was successfully raised into its present position in 1917. This Canadian-built central span is 640 feet long, and then made, in every way, the record for the world.

8. You will remember that, when describing the rooms of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, I drew special attention to the builder's model and the original picture of the unique *Royal William*, and promised further particulars about this Quebec-built steamer, which was doubly unique in the history of the whole world as well as several times unique in other ways. With the kind permission of the Messrs. Glasgow, Brook, and Co., Toronto, I therefore quote these particulars here from my own book, *All Afloat*, which forms a volume in the *Chronicles of Canada*. This account, first published in 1914, is now corrected in regard to the ambiguous wording of a single point. My original statement, that she crossed the Atlantic "entirely under steam" was incorrect,

because she had sails (though only as mere auxiliaries) and she used them too. What I ought to have said was that she crossed *steaming the whole way*, which she certainly did. With this alteration, and a very slight change of wording elsewhere, the following quotation (from pages 136 to 145) is exactly as written more than ten years ago. The original evidence is to be found in the *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec:* New Series, No. 13, 1877-79 (which contain the original description of the first record-making voyage, written by John M'Dougall, Master of the *Royal William*) and the same, No. 20, 1889-91 (which contain the whole history, as compiled by the Society, with the concurrence of the Government of Canada).

"The *Royal William* was the first of all sea-going steamers, the first that ever crossed an ocean steaming the whole way, and the first that ever fired a shot in action. But her claims and the spurious counter-claims against her must both be made quite clear. She was not the first steamer that ever put out to sea; for the Yankee *Phœnix* made the little coasting trip from Hoboken to Philadelphia in 1809. She was not the first steamer in Canadian salt water; for the *St. John* crossed the Bay of Fundy in 1826. And she was not the first vessel with a steam engine that crossed an ocean, for the Yankee *Savannah* crossed from Savannah to Liverpool in 1819. The *Phœnix* and *St. John* call for no explanation. The *Savannah* does, especially in view of the claims so freely

made and allowed for her as being the first regular steamer to cross an ocean. To begin with, she was not a regular sea-going steamer with auxiliary sails, like the *Royal William*, but a so-called clipper-built, full-rigged ship, of three hundred tons, with a small auxiliary engine and paddle-wheels made to be let down her sides when the wind failed. She did not even steam against head winds but tacked. She took a month to make Liverpool, and she used steam for only eighty hours altogether. She could not, indeed, have done much more, because she carried only seventy-five tons of coal and twenty-five cords of wood, and she made port with plenty of fuel left. Her original log disproves the whole case mistakenly made out for her by some far too zealous advocates.

The claims of the *Royal William* are proved by ample contemporary evidence, as well as by the subsequent statements of her Master John M'Dougall, her builder James Goudie, and John Henry, the Quebec founder who made some castings for her engines the year after they had been put into her at Montreal. M'Dougall was a seaman of indomitable perseverance, as his famous voyage to England shows. Goudie, though only twenty-one, was a most capable naval architect, born in Canada and taught his profession in Scotland. His father was a naval architect before him and had built several British vessels on the Great Lakes for service against the Americans during the War of 1812. Both Goudie and Henry lived to retell their tale in 1891, when the Canadian

government put up a tablet to commemorate what pioneering work the *Royal William* had done, both for the inter-colonial and inter-imperial connection.

The first stimulus to move the promoters of the *Royal William* was the subsidy of £12,000 offered by the government of Lower Canada in 1830 to the owners of any steamer over five hundred tons that would ply between Quebec and Halifax. Half this amount had been offered in 1825; but the inducement was not then sufficient. The Quebec and Halifax Navigation Company was formed by the leading merchants of Quebec joined with a few in Halifax. The latter included the three Cunard brothers, whose family name has been a household word in transatlantic shipping circles from that day to this. On September 2nd, 1830, Goudie laid the keel of the *Royal William* in the yard belonging to George Black, a shipbuilder, and his partner, John Saxton Campbell, formerly an officer in the 99th Foot, and at this time a merchant and shipowner in Quebec. The shipyard was situated at Cape Cove, beside the St. Lawrence, a mile above the Citadel, and directly in line with the spot on which Wolfe breathed his last after the Battle of the Plains.

The launch took place on Friday afternoon, April 29th, 1831. Even if all the people present had then foreknown the *Royal William's* career they could not have done more to mark the occasion as one of truly national significance. The leaders among them certainly looked forward to

some great results at home. Quebec was the capital of Lower Canada; and every Canadian statesman hoped that the new steamer would become a bond of union between the three different parts of the country — the old French province by the St. Lawrence, the old British provinces down by the sea, and the new British province up by the Lakes.

The Mayor of Quebec proclaimed a public holiday, which brought out such a concourse of shipwrights and other shipping experts as hardly any other city in the world could show: that is, in proportion to population. Lord Aylmer was there as Governor-General to represent King William IV, after whom the vessel was to be named the *Royal William* by Lady Aylmer. This was most appropriate, as the sailor king had been the first member of any royal house to set foot on Canadian soil, which he did at Quebec in 1787, as an officer in H.M.S. *Pegasus*. The guard and band from the 32nd Foot were drawn up near the ship. The gunners of the Royal Artillery were waiting to fire the salute from the new citadel, which, with the walls, was nearing completion, after the Imperial government had spent thirty-five million dollars in carrying out the plans approved by Wellington. Lady Aylmer took the bottle of wine, which was wreathed in a garland of flowers, and, throwing it against the bows, pronounced the historic formula: 'God bless the *Royal William* and all who sail in her.' Then, amid the crash of arms and music, the roaring of artillery, and the

enthusiastic cheers of all the people, the stately vessel took the water, to begin a career the like of which no other Canadian vessel ever equalled before that time or since.

Her engines, which developed more than two hundred horse-power, were made by Bennett and Henderson in Montreal and sent to meet her a few miles below that city, as the vessel towing her up could not stem St. Mary's Current. Her hull was that of a regular sea-going steamer, thoroughly fit to go foreign, and not the hull of an ordinary sailing ship, like the *Savannah*, with paddles hung over the sides in a calm. Goudie's master, Simmons of Greenock, had built four steamers to cross the Irish Sea; and Goudie probably followed his master's practice when he gave the *Royal William* two deep 'scoops' to receive the paddle-boxes nearer the bows than the stern. The tonnage by builder's measurement was 1370, though by net capacity of burden only 363. The length over all was 176 feet, on the keel 146. Including the paddle-boxes the beam was 44 feet; and, as each box was 8 feet broad, there were 28 feet clear between them. The depth of hold was 17 feet 9 inches, the draught 14 feet. The rig was that of a three-masted topsail schooner. There were fifty passenger berths and a good saloon.

The three trips between Quebec and Halifax in 1831 were most successful. But 1832 was the year of the great cholera, especially in Quebec, and the *Royal William* was so harassed by quarantine that she had to be laid up there. The

losses of that disastrous season decided her owners to sell out next spring for less than a third of her original cost. She was then degraded for a time into a local tug or sometimes an excursion boat. But presently she was sent down to Boston, where the band at Fort Independence played her in to the tune of 'God Save the King,' because she was the first of all steamers to enter a seaport of the United States under the Union Jack.

Ill luck pursued her new owners, who, on her return to Quebec, decided to send her to England for sale. She left Quebec on August 5th, 1833, coaled at Pictou, which lies on the Gulf side of Nova Scotia, and took her departure from there on the 18th, for her epoch-making voyage, with the following most prosaic clearance: 'Royal William, 363 tons, 36 men. John M'Dougall, master. Bound to London. British. Cargo: 254 chaldrons of coals [nearly 300 tons], a box of stuffed birds, and six spars, produce of this province. One box and one truck, household furniture, and a harp, all British, and seven passengers.' The fare was fixed at £20, 'not including wines.'

The voyage soon became eventful. Nearly three hundred tons of coal was a heavy concentrated cargo for the tremendous storm she encountered on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. She strained; her starboard engine was disabled; she began to leak; and the engineer came up to tell M'Dougall she was sinking. But M'Dougall held his course, started the pumps, and kept her under way for a week with only the port engine going.

The whole passage from Pictou, counting the time she was detained at Cowes repairing boilers, took twenty-five days. M'Dougall, a sturdy Scotsman, native of Oban, must have been sorely tempted to 'put the kettle off the boil' and run her under sail. But either the port or starboard engine or both worked her the whole way over, and thus for ever established her claim to priority in transatlantic navigation steaming the whole way.

In London she was sold for £10,000, just twice what she had fetched at sheriff's sale in Quebec some months before. She was at once chartered, crew and all, by the Portuguese government, who declined to buy her for conversion into a man-of-war. In 1834, however, she did become a man-of-war, this time under the Spanish flag, though flying the broad pennant of Commodore Henry, who was then commanding the British Auxiliary Steam Squadron against the Carlists in the north of Spain. Two years later, on May 5th, 1836, under her Spanish name, *Isabella Segúnda*, she made another record. When the British Legion, under Sir de Lacy Evans, was attacking the Carlists in the bay of St. Sebastian, she stood in towards the Carlist flank and thereupon fired the first shot that any steaming man-of-war had ever fired in action.

Strangely enough, she cannot be said to have come to any definite end as an individual ship. She continued in the Spanish service till 1840, when she was sent to Bordeaux for repairs. The Spaniards, who are notorious slovens at keeping things shipshape, had allowed her to run down to

bare rot after her Britisher-Canadian crew had left her. So the French bought her for a hulk and left her where she was. But the Spaniards took her engines out and put them into a new *Isabella Segûnda*, which was wrecked in a storm on the Algerian coast in 1860.

Her career of record-making is well worth a general summary. The *Royal William* was the first steamer built to foster inter-colonial trade in Canada; the first Canadian steamer specially designed for work at sea; the first sea-going steamer to enter a port in the United States under the British flag; the first steam transport in Portugal;. the first steam man-of-war in Spain; the first naval steamer that ever fired a shot in action; and the first vessel in the world that ever crossed an ocean steaming the whole way."

9. Here I shall stop, not because there is nothing else to say about the first things, last things, and only things that have conspired to make Quebec unique, but because the main points have now, I think, been all conned over; and I do not wish to chronicle small beer.

In conclusion I would only beg to congratulate Quebec on the two uniquely auspicious visits she has been fortunate enough to have secured from the Royal Society of Canada; for the first was in 1908, the Tercentennial year of all Quebec, while the present one, in 1924, delightfully occurs during the Centennial year of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the senior of all the learned societies throughout the British Empire overseas.

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